

**[AN INTERGENERATIONAL CRITICALLY REFLECTIVE
PARTICIPATORY STUDY OF] THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATION ON
CHANGING LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF SAN PEOPLE IN THE
OSHANA RESETTLEMENT FARM AT OKONGO, NAMIBIA**

BY

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SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION IN THE DISCIPLINE OF EDUCATION AND
DEVELOPMENT

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DATE: 30 JUNE 2021

DECLARATION

I, Iyaloo Ndapewoshali Pendapala Ngodji, declare that

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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



04 October 2019

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Dear Ms Ngodji,

Protocol reference number : HSS/0531/019M

Project title: An intergenerational critically reflective participatory study of the effect of education on livelihood strategies of San people in Oshana Resettlement Farm in Okongo, Namibia

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

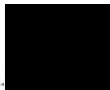
With regards to your response received on 26 August 2019 to our letter of 16 August 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

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I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



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To my editor, thank you Helen for the extra mile you took to add value to the study.

DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this work to the following people:

My late grandparents Rev Mr Josia Mufeti and Ms Rauna Mwetufayo Shimweefeleni who dedicated their lives towards San people and committed themselves to mission work. Your humanity and humility of equitable treatment towards everyone has not been overlooked. Your stewardship for San people has prompted me to conduct this study as a form of care to highlighting the situation of San community. May you continue Resting in Peace.

To the San people who endure hardships and have been subjected to unfavourable treatment from the society, this is for you. My hope is that one day you will be granted to live a dignified and worthy life.

ABSTRACT

San people in Namibia have faced numerous challenges over the years to the extent of even being classified as marginalised even though they are the first living known habitat on the motherland. This study took a critical approach to understanding the effect education has on the livelihood strategies of San People from Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm in Okongo Constituency of Ohangwena Region. The main objectives were to develop/construct my critical understanding of the nature of livelihoods of young and old San people at Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm, to investigate the role of non-formal, informal and formal education and learning over time on livelihood strategies and finally to create awareness about contextually appropriate/inclusive education and socioeconomic development policies that better support sustainable livelihood strategies for San people in Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm and other San people that shares a similar context.

Through a participatory research, this qualitative study supported by a critical paradigm used focused groups and a community discussion for data collection. Four focused groups; two groups for participants aged 18 to 45 years, two groups of participants above 45 and one community discussion of a mixed group of both young and old community members were conducted. The grouping was consciously done to accommodate inputs, opinions and knowledge from different generations of San people. This approach was necessary to get various experiences of livelihoods and educations at different times in the history of San people from Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm.

The analysis found that San people from this farm are going through various social, economic and health challenges such as chronic illnesses, hunger, violence, and abuse. The analysis also revealed that livelihood strategies currently present in the farm such as subsistence farming, selling of crafted items, piecework and food aid from the government are not sustainable. When

it came to education and its role on livelihood strategies, formal education has not played a major nor a significant role as most participants only have a primary level education. However, informal and non-formal education predominately contributed to the current livelihood strategies respectively.

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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study critically reflects on **the effects that education has on livelihood strategies of San People at the Oshana Resettlement Farm**. This first chapter serves as an orientation to the study in which I will outline my interest in the study, provide the background of the research, a statement of the problem, a rationale for the study, the significance of the study, and the motivation for and objectives of the research and research questions. I will also discuss the limitations of the research and outline the structure of each chapter.

1.2 Location of the study

This study is based on San people staying at Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm. Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm is situated in Oshanashiwa village (in short called Oshana), a small village about 10km on the periphery of a recently proclaimed Okongo village town council. There has been little written about Oshana, possibly because of its remote location and its lack of apparent historical significance to ‘put it on the map’ for research’s interest. The most noticeable and significant developments in the village are the San people’s resettlement farm and a lower primary school (pre-grade to grade 3). Residents of this small village access their services in Okongo. In her chapter about the origins of Okongo, Nampala (2015) highlighted that at the beginning of the 19 century Okongo was a place with forest and wild animals. It was further believed to have been founded by San people where they practiced hunting and gathering. Nampala (2015) further stated that around 1915, Ovakwanyama (one of the oshiwambo speaking people) moved from other Oukwanyama areas to Okongo in search for grazing area for livestock and fields to plant mahangu (pearl Millet) and other people came as a result of the battle between Kwanyama kingdom and Portuguese at the Northern part of Namibia.

San people continued living amongst Ovakwanyama people until in the 1950s when the Finnish missionaries came to Okongo with a purpose of converting San people into Christianity (Nampala, 2015). During this time, the missionaries brought services by constructing a clinic and a church. The missionaries established 4 San settlement centers known as omapyatumo gaayelele yokOkongo (mission farms for San people in Okongo) in Oshana, Eendobe,

Onamatadiva and Ekoka (Nampala, 2015. p.210). San People were taken to these farms from different places including those who were residing in Okongo. This is how the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm came to being and also explains why San people in Oshana like staying and going to Okongo as we will later learn in this study.

As it is with few other resettlement farms in Okongo constituency, Oshanashiwa is a fenced communal land for San people. Hence, the area serves as a residential (homestead) as well as a place for farming and conducting other activities meant for livelihood and well-being support for San people. In 2005, the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement in conjunction with the Office of Prime Minister built 12 two rooms brick houses and an office block at the farm. San people moved from their traditional house in to these new brick building. Other San Resettlement Farms that got brick houses are Ekoka and Eendobe.

1.3 Significance and Motivation of the Study

Barnard (2007) states that “the San, Bushmen or Basarwa are the original modern human inhabitants of Southern Africa. For some fifty years, scholars have argued a cultural continuity between African peoples living thirty or forty thousand years ago and the San of today” (p.4). This argument is endorsed by many researchers including Tlou and Campbell who stated that the San, also known as ‘the gatherers’, have survived the longest in Southern Africa and have been nomadic in the desert and grasslands in this part of the continent for thousands of years (Chebanne, 2010).

The name San has come a long way with different debates and suggestions because initially the name was not given with positive intentions or connotation. San people, as according to Barnard (2007), originally referred to themselves as Khoi or Khoekhoe, which means a person and people of people respectively. The name San has been used in Dutch and English writings off and on as a word for impoverished Khoekhoe or as an ethnic label according to Barnard (2007, p.5). The Ovawambo people in Namibia refer to San people as *Ovakwanghala* a name given because Ovawambo believe that San people have a “habit of not leaving food for tomorrow” and that San people believe that “God will provide for tomorrow” (Nampala, 2015, p.210). Namibia has adopted the term “San people,” which I will use in this study to be consistent with the country’s choice of terminology.

Namibia, as part of Southern African, is one of few countries where San people live. Several findings from archaeological, genetic and historical studies argue that the presence of humans in Namibia can be traced to 8000 BC and the direct genetic, linguistic and cultural descendants of present day Namibian are San (Suzman, 2001, p.25). Hitchcock (2015) estimated that the population of San people in Namibia is between 38 000 to 40 000. This population is spread over different geographical locations in Namibia namely Otjozondjupa, Omaheke, Zambezi, Oshikoto, Kavango, Ohangwena, Omusati, and Oshana depending on their particular ethnic group. The notable San ethnicities in Namibia and which San people themselves identify with are Ju|'hoansi, !Xun, Hai||om, Naro, Khwe or !Xõon (Dieckmann, Thiem & Hays, 2014). About 40% of the San people in Namibia are from the Hai||om group.

San people in Namibia form part of the indigenous people alongside the Ovahimba, Ovatie, Ovatiima and Ovadhimba. Namibia has adapted the African Commission's characteristics of indigenous groups as follows:

Their cultures and ways of life differ considerably from the dominant society and their cultures are under threat, in some cases to the extent of extinction. A key characteristic for most of them is that the survival of their particular way of life depends on access and rights to their traditional land and the natural resources thereon. They suffer from discrimination as they are being regarded as less developed and less advanced than other more dominant sectors of society. They often live in inaccessible regions, often geographically isolated and suffer from various forms of marginalisation, both politically and socially. They are subject to domination and exploitation within national political and economic structures that are commonly designed to reflect the interests and activities of the national majority. This discrimination, domination and marginalisation violates their human rights as peoples/communities, threatens the continuation of their cultures and ways of life and prevents them from being able to genuinely participate in deciding their own future and forms of development. (Ombudsman Report, 2014, p.6).

Regardless of San people being the first persons in Southern Africa, their lives have drastically changed in the past decades. Though San people are known for their nomadic life, Richard Lee during his research in 1976 estimated that only 5% of San population were still practising

hunting and gathering as their primary subsistence livelihood (Suzman, 2001). At the moment, San people are experiencing a lot of social and economic issues as follows. San people are subjected to “extreme poverty, lack of education, high mobility, social stigmatisation and landlessness” (Ombudsman Report, 2014, p.14). Statistically, a proportion of 70% of San people are supported by State-run food aid, 15% have legal deeds for land and only 20% are literate (Ombudsman Report, 2014).

After Namibia’s independence in 1990, in the same study mentioned above conducted by Suzman, one of the main purposes was to assess the lives of San people in Namibia 11 years after independence of the country (Dieckmann, Thiem & Hays, 2014, p.4). Key findings from this study were as stated below:

Beyond conferring valuable political rights and the chance to participate in a functioning democracy, independence has brought few immediate collective benefits to San, the majority of whom still battle with the continuing legacy of the apartheid system, which denied them even the limited land and cultural rights granted to the majority of the other non-white Namibians during the apartheid era. A decade after independence, San stand out due to their dependency, extreme poverty, political alienation and a variety of social, educational and health problems. Of course, these problems are not unique to San, and many other Namibians are just as poor and marginalised as they are. However, what makes San conspicuous among Namibia’s poor is the fact that while only a proportion of the members of each other language group are extremely poor, San are almost universally extremely poor. (Suzman, 2001b, p.143)

1.4 Why San People?

I grew up in a missionary household and my grandparents taught my cousins and I to serve people in whatever capacity we could. My grandfather was sent to Okongo by the Lutheran church to spread the word of God amongst marginalised people, specifically to the San people in the early 1970s (This missionary work began in the 1950s in Okongo as mentioned above). When I was born, several San people were living in my grandfather’s house as part of our household and family. My interest in San people started when I was a child. Back then, I did not notice any difference in culture, ethnicity or behaviour because we were all treated equally

and had access to resources in the house. As time passed, the San community at large seemed to be going through a kind of transition. The first thing I noticed was the school absenteeism; San children who were not being fostered by Oshiwambo parents stopped attending school. Secondly, there was a reduction in cultivation and farming, and this resulted in reduced food security and increased dependency on handouts, and I observed by as some San people came into the house looking for food and other have moved from their resettlement farms where they had land to cultivate to stay in Okongo where there are no fields for farming.

Fast forward to my adulthood, my interest increased when I learnt more about the five resettlement farms reserved for San people established in the 1950s in the Ohangwena region of northern Namibia as indicated prior. Four of these are situated in the Okongo constituency in little villages surrounding Okongo town. Three of these farms have schools close to the community and have accommodation to serve San children. I noticed then that despite having education facilities within their communities, only a handful of San children from these resettlement farms progressed to the upper level of primary school and even fewer managed to go to secondary school. Until 2020, I am aware of only two San people from these communities who completed secondary school and went to the College of Education at Ongwediva and became teachers and unfortunately one already passed on.

Questions started to emerge through my observations and experience with the San people as well as my awareness of the current psychosocial-economic status of San people. These questions included the following: What could be some of the empirical historical occurrences that have brought about this current situation? What has contributed to the ways livelihood strategies are changing or have changed? How relevant is education? And what learnings are relevant?

One can ask many questions, including those relating to the deterioration of San people's health and the high level of alcohol consumption. However, as many of these issues are interlinked, my research will be looking at the critical role education plays in the changing livelihood strategies from an intergenerational perspectives.

Understanding the term livelihoods and livelihood strategies is crucial at navigating this study. Though more of this will be covered in chapter 2, a comprehensive understanding of livelihoods was given by Grown and Sebstad (1989, p.941), stating that livelihoods are:

The mix of individual and household survival strategies, developed over a given period of time that seeks to mobilize available resources and opportunities. Resources can be physical assets such as property, human assets such as time and skills, social assets, and collective assets. Opportunities include kin and friendship networks, institutional mechanisms, organizational and group membership, and partnership relations. The mix of livelihood strategies thus includes labour market involvement, savings, accumulation and investments; borrowing; innovation and adaptation of different technologies for production; social networking; changes in consumption patterns; and income, labour and asset pooling.

In addition, Petersen and Pedersen (2010) defined livelihood strategies as ways in which people act to achieve anticipated livelihood outcomes. These livelihood outcomes can be used to reduce vulnerability and improve food security (DFID, 2000), meaning that livelihood outcomes are the achievements of effective livelihood strategies (Petersen & Pedersen, 2010).

1.5 Background of the study

Before independence, San people were intensively affected by the liberation struggle. According to Hitchcock (2019) some San people specifically the !Xun and Khwe were recruited by the South African police and were used as trackers and patrols Namibia/Bostwana borders. During these times, San people received high salaries, and food parcel and blankets incentives were given to their families and dependents (Hitchcock, 2019). The joining of the military by many San people was a conscious choice for survival. However, the effect of the military had a negative impact on the San communities that is still felt today. Marshall (2003) stated that the salaries paid to San people were mostly used to purchase alcohol for consumption which led to domestic violence against women and children and social conflict. At the same time between 1978 to 1990, there was a resettlement of San people from the northern part of Namibia and Angola to Bushmanland now called Tsumkwe. In Tsumkwe, San people were allocated land and other development projects such as agriculture for crop and livestock farming. Some San people stayed in the Northern part of Namibia including Ovamboland and Zambezi Region then called Caprivi Region however, their lives was described as “depletion” (Hitchcock, 2019).

After independence from 1990, the Namibian government was left to innovate how to deal with the population of San people both on commercial land and in communal areas. Some San

people during the colonial time in Namibia had joined the military and become soldiers while others had migrated to other parts of the country looking for better livelihoods, mostly living on the peripheries of the Ovawambo speaking people in communal areas and others were working in commercial farms as the majority no longer had land of their own (Suzman, 2001).

In the northern Namibia, the Ohangwena Region has a significant population of San people. The San Resettlement farm in Namibia, Ohangwena Region, Okongo constituency has four (4) San resettlement farms under the management of the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) in the villages of Oshanashiwa, Eendobe, Onamatadiva and Ekoka. Historically, these four farms were established as projects by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) (mentioned above established by Finnish Missionaries) and are not commercial farms. These farms were not purchased by MLR; however, the ministry took ownership over them in 1996 as part of the government's special initiative programme for marginalised communities to have access to land for agricultural purposes in order to contribute towards their food security (Mouton & Dirx, 2014). With MLR in charge of resettlement farms, the government built houses for San people, storage facilities and office space on some of the farms.

1.6 Social and institutional context

The division of land in Namibia during apartheid that saw Namibia being segregated in areas based on their language contributed to the inequalities in terms of resources allocation in the country. This also has led to tribalism when a person from a different tribe settles on the land of other tribes.

In so, institutions and services were skewed in distribution, firstly, they were in favour of white people, then coloureds and Bastards, people living beyond the redline namely Ovawambo, Vakavango, and Zambesians and finally it is the indigenous people including San people and Ovahimba. This inequality and prioritising of certain group over others has not ceased. There have been cases of discrimination based on the language a person speaks and the tribe they are from.

For San people, this discrimination has eroded many of their identities and livelihoods. The education mostly formal has not been existing for San people the longest. In the documented

literatures, there was not any mention of San people and their access to education during colonial and apartheid era. Whether this was deliberate or not, formal education of San people did not seem to be a relevant discussion in history. An interesting observation regarding formal schooling and education is that, during the colonial times, San people mostly men were trained on military skills because of their natural tracking skills (Marshall, 2003).

1.7 Indigenisation and marginalization of San people

In terms of education, this research took cognisance of the three different types namely formal, non-formal and informal education that San people are exposed to, which inevitably results into certain types of contextual perspectives. More on education will be discussed later in the chapter. However, the importance of understanding teaching and learning could influence the way the concept of formal education is received by San people. According to Hays (2016), in one of San language (Ju|'hoansi) a 'schoolteacher' is *nxarokxao* which translates directly as 'owner of learning'. This concept of ownership has gained saliency within the development world mostly in addressing sustainability (Hays, 2016). In so, "what does this mean, in practice? How does a marginalized community 'own' their education processes?" when the meaning of a schoolteacher means the owner of the process?

1.8 Theoretical lenses

As this research is a combination of education and development, the frames of references to this study encompasses both the education and development lenses. Here I will introduce the development theories that will be used to link education and livelihood. Post development theory and post-colonial theory are the theories used in this study because issues of San people are to an extent a result of colonialism and the way "modern" development was introduced and is being carried out. More on these concepts will be explored in chapter 2.

1.9 Problem statement, Motivation and Purpose of the Study

As a person who has resided in Okongo village, I have observed the situation of San people over the years, because they have been and are part of the family and community at large. I was also given an opportunity to do internship at the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia (DRFN), a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) that operates in Okongo Constituency managing all four mentioned Resettlement Farms in partnership with the Ministry of Land and Resettlement after the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN) ended its operation with San people.

I have noticed and witnessed a drastic change in the lives of San people in these four resettlement farms of which Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm is part of. Most evident to me was the poor quality of people's well-being in terms of education, safety and security, violence and abuse, employment, food security, health, and development just to mention a few basic human rights. These aspects are pertinent themselves, but do not exist in isolation. They are interrelated to deeper political, economic, social and psychological issues such as mental health, alcohol and drugs abuse and unemployment.

These observations motivated me to explore livelihood strategies and the role education plays in determining such livelihood strategies for San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm.

There have been several research studies, mostly assessing the livelihoods of San people in Namibia, but not one that looks at how education impacts those livelihood strategies. In brief, studies have found that San people are not emancipated within the socio-economic sphere and a vast array of factors contribute to this reality (Suzman, 2001).

Another aspect of the motivation for this study relates in particular to the existing knowledge of systems and the way of life San people used to live with, as part of their own informal and non-formal education. As a way to better understand the role of education on their livelihood strategies, this study will explore the ways in which formal education interacts and interrelates with existing indigenous/community knowledge in terms of improving or restricting livelihood strategies as deployed by both the older and the younger generations.

Moreover, the relevance of this study is based on the observation that San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm face enormous social issues resulting in a reduced quality of life including life expectancy. Tackling social problems is broad and could be arbitrary when dealing with a population that has been discriminated, oppressed, marginalised and impoverished because of their way of life either culturally or former nomadic. Therefore, in exploring education and livelihood strategies, this study could contribute towards not only understanding but also advocating for changes that could assist improvement in quality of life for San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm and those San persons living in similar situations.

Consequently, with the basic knowledge I acquired regarding the current situation of San people in Namibia, how their lives have evolved over the years, I see a need to tap into their space and to try and enter their world from their perspective to understand them being in this moment and critically hear how they see the role of education in relation to livelihood strategies.

1.10 Methodological Approach

This study has taken a participatory qualitative approach to research. The data collection was done with a group of youth and separately a group of the older generation and a combined group of young and old. The grouping was deliberately done to accommodate inputs, opinions and knowledge from different generations of San people. This approach was necessary to get various experience of livelihoods and educations at different times in the history of San people from Oshana resettlement farm.

1.11 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are,

Through participatory engagement, to:

1. Develop/construct my critical understanding of the nature of livelihoods of young and old San people at Oshanashiwa resettlement farm
2. investigation of the role of non-, in- and formal learning over time
3. in order to raise awareness about contextually appropriate/inclusive education and socioeconomic development policies that better support sustainable livelihood

strategies for San people in Oshanashiwa Resettlement and other San people that shares a similar context.

1.12 Key (Main) research question:

How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of San People in Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm affected by education?

Research questions

- What are the critical eco-systemic issues affecting the livelihood of San people in Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm?
- What livelihood strategies do San people in Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm employ?
- How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of these San people affected by their formal, informal and non-formal education?

1.13 Delimitations and limitation of the study

Because of the ongoing drought in Namibia, and the exacerbated of food security due to the impact of Covid-19, most San people have either left the resettlement farm to reside in Okongo or they commute to Okongo everyday early in the morning to look for casual petty jobs. This situation has necessitated the re-structuring and recalibration of the participatory research tools and methodology hence limitation of the study. Focus group discussion and one community discussion/ interviews were used to collect data. Due to the fact that San people are always in Okongo, interviews took place in Okongo. Thus the change in the research setting is a delimitation of the study as it has implications of how the research was planned, and how it was executed.

1.14 Structure of the Study

Chapter one: Introduction

This is an introductory chapter. It focused on setting a scene of the study, by introducing the location of the study which is Oshanashiwa and the participants involved in the study who are San people from Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm. The chapter furthermore introduced the research questions and objectives. It have in addition gave a reason behind the chosen subject

as well as the motivation of conducting this research. Finally, it highlighted few institutional, social and theoretical lenses, and also the limitations of the study.

Chapter two: Literature Review

Chapter two looked at the existing literature on the topic being researched and theoretical frameworks. In so, the chapter defined keys concept crucial to the study as well as theories on which the study is based.

Chapter three: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter three dealt with research methodology and designed. In this chapter, we looked at different paradigms, data collection methods, analysis approach and sampling. Moreover, ethical considerations pertaining the study were also discussed.

Chapter four: Data Presentation and Analysis

Chapter four is were the collected data was presented and analysed. The data was thematically grouped based on the similarities and commonness. In addition, it was presented to speak to the research questions and objectives. will look at all the results from the collected data and make sense of it through analysis. Finally, it will thematically present the analyzed information

Chapter five: Data Interpretation and Discussion

The data presented in chapter four was interpreted in this chapter in relation to the theoretical frameworks of the study. In accordance to the themes that emerged from the analysis, this chapter gave meaning to the data and engaged on discussions relevant to the issues brought forward.

Chapter six: Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

This chapter summarised the overall study. It gave a synopsis of each chapter's focus and the findings of the study. It furthermore looked at the limitation of the study and finally gave recommendations based on the findings.

1.15 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set the context for the research. I began by explaining my interest in conducting this study, then I gave a background to the study and set out the problem statement.

I also presented the context in which San people are living and finally provided research objectives, research questions, the delimitations of the study and the structure of the paper.

2. Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

As stated in chapter one, no available published research has focused on the role of education in the living conditions of the San people in Namibia from their perspective explicitly concerning their livelihood strategies. This section interrogates and refers to relevant research related to existing knowledge of education and development and livelihood strategies in general including those of the San people. It will look diffusely at different theories of ways in which acquisition of education occurs, the concept of sustainable livelihood and livelihood framework as key to understanding livelihood strategies, and the living standards of San people in Namibia. In so doing, the discourses surrounding the concept of poverty will emerge, as well as questions on food security, health, and self-reliance, together with factors related to the issue of dependency syndrome and power dynamics. Additionally, the chapter will examine the theoretical framework on which the study is built and analysed. The theoretical frameworks explored are sustainable livelihood framework, education, post-colonial theory and post-development theory.

2.2 Understanding Education

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world."
(Richard Shaull's preface of Freire's book quoted in Hederman, 1982, p. 58)

Within our social context, it is normalised by many of us that when we hear 'education', our cognition ability automatically starts picturing a building, with classes and a teacher standing in front of a class writing something on the chalkboard while learners in school uniform are paying attention to what the teacher is doing or saying. This understanding and structure of education mostly introduced to many developing countries during the colonial era has been at the centre of advancing 'development' as part of modernization and industrialization.

Education however is a process of delivering knowledge to someone in order for that someone to learn something. The learning part of education is boundless and inclusive. According to La Belle (1982), people take part in learning activities, whether those activities are planned, compulsory or intentional, and some of those activities are spontaneous and others voluntary. Nevertheless, the critical significance of education and learning cannot be overstressed enough with its many forms.

Pannilage (2011) at a conference in Sri Lanka referred to Mohottige who emphasised the importance of education, quoting that:

“Education is the most powerful tool of change. Education gives an individual the capacity to adapt to change. Education can initiate change. Building awareness of the self, society and human welfare more and more rests upon education. Education is considered the strategy of initiating, achieving and sustaining progress and development. Moreover, education can mitigate disparities in society amongst people. In short, education is the most powerful tool of achieving what we ought to achieve” (Mohottige, 2005).

McKeown, Hopkins, Rizi, and Chrystalbridge (2002) as well as Coombs and Ahmed (1974) identified three common aspects in which education occurs, and these are formal, informal, and non-formal education. These three sectors are evident in the implementation of functional education to achieve development and sustainability (McKeown et al, 2002). Formal education includes primary education (which the Namibian government has set as a fundamental human right under the Constitution), secondary education, and tertiary education. Non-formal education is the educational sectors comprising of education and learning rendered by non-governmental organisations, adult literacy promotion and health education given by public health workers just to mention few (McKeown et al, 2002). Finally, informal education is that process whereby skills, attitudes, values, and knowledge is gained through daily life experiences from social interactions such as media information, family and community gatherings and traditional knowledge (Smith, 2002). More on these types of education is segmented below.

2.2.1 Formal Education

In addition to the mentioned definition of formal education, Brennan (1997) has referred to formal education as an education system that is structured, graded in order, and institutionalised, most evidently with schools and universities. This reverberates with Coombs and Ahmed (1974) who emphasised that this type of education is “the highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university” (p.8).

Formal education thus has resulted into what is called formal schooling. And with formal schooling, institutions or governments are required to deploy quality teachers or educators to deliver quality education to learners. Even though quality education is subjective depending on the purpose of education, there is a consensus as highlighted in the millennium development goal 6 that:

“Quality is at the heart of education, and what takes place in the classrooms and other learning environments is fundamentally important to the future well-being of children, young people and adults. A quality education is one that satisfies basic learning needs, and enriches the lives of learners and their overall experience of living. Evidence over the past decade has shown that efforts to expand enrolment must be accompanied by attempts to enhance educational quality if children are to be attracted to school, stay there and achieve meaningful learning outcomes” (Alexander,2008, p.6).

Huaman and Valdiviezo (2014) in their article on comparative indigenous knowledge and education highlighted the issues of cultural assimilation. The use of formal education introduced mostly during the colonial era is seen as aggressive with its practices and has placed indigenous knowledge in jeopardy (Huaman and Valdiviezo, 2014). In their view, cultural assimilation through indigenous education encompasses "culturally inclusive, intergenerational and values-driven, and rigorous and complex" learning (Huaman and Valdiviezo, 2014). And these got diluted withing formal education.

This study looked at the quality of formal education within the context of the role it has played and continues to play in advancing livelihood strategies for San people or lack thereof. This component of education is vital to comprehend because formal education in Namibia is highly promoted. The government of Namibia has introduced special interventions such as school

feeding schemes, hostels for accommodation and even building schools at or close to settlement farms of San people. In the case of San people in Oshanashiwa, did these initiatives worked to play a role in livelihood strategies? This will become ostensible in the coming chapters.

2.2.2 Nonformal education

There was a concern with the word nonformal in nonformal education. Brennan (1997) alluded to the negative denotation of the prefix of the term itself. Brennan worried that the importance and agency of nonformal education will get diluted and not taken seriously (1997). Nonetheless, Coombs and Ahmed defined nonformal education as 'any organised, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population, adults as well as children' (1974, p.8). Nonformal education is that type of education which happens throughout a life span. It was noted that this mode of education works differently in various settings. La Belle (1987) highlighted that, some communities use nonformal education to strengthen their respective solidarities, be it religious, ethnical, or political. At the same time, others use nonformal education for skills development, leisure activities and other programs targeting positive youth development (La Belle, 1987) just to mention few.

Brennan (1997) signified the relevance of non-formal education and the critical role it plays to strengthen formal education and to bridge the gap that formal education failed to cover. For this reason, nonformal education is seen in three ways:

Firstly as a complement to formal education such as literacy education, secondly as an alternative to formal education (this is where indigenous or traditional education and learning is incorporated), and thirdly, it is seen as a supplement to formal education (Brennan, 1997). In nonformal education, the emphasis is given to learning processes that address issues of social and economic importance that cannot wait for the formal education process (Brennan, 1997).

As a complement to formal education, it targets people who drop out of school and those who are illiterate (Brennan, 1997) to be provided with skills relevant to socio-economic development such as craft work (beading, weaving, tailoring), on job trainings, agricultural course and similar engagements (La Bella, 1987). Alternative to formal education was made from the realisation that formal education cannot achieve the needs of the society without considering indigenous and traditional knowledge and learning that existed before colonialism

(Brennan, 1997). Finally, supplement to formal education is linked to the developments for economic take-off, in a sense that the process reacts faster “to educational, social and economic needs because formal education is too slow in its response (if it does in fact decide to respond) to these needs” (Brennan, 1997).

2.2.3 Informal Education

Informal education as mentioned earlier is the process of getting "values, skills, and knowledge" from the engagement with people we encounter on daily basis and activities we execute without a presence of any formal institution or systematized processes (Cameron & Harrison, 2012 p.282). This is the type of learning that happens in natural setting and at the same time it is a learner-centred approach (Matambo, 2018). The learner is accountable for controlling their learning journey thus this mode is used mostly in adult education as it utilises personal life experience (Matambo, 2018). Schugurensky cited in (Matambo, 2018) categorised three forms of informal education namely self-directed learning, incidental learning and learning through socialization.

2.2.4 Indigenous Education and knowledge

It should be noted that indigenous education was the major education system in Africa before the colonial period which is before the arrival of Europeans in Cape Town in the year 1652 (Seroto, 2011). Seroto wrote the definition of indigenous education as "a natural process embedded in everyday life and its activities" (2011, p.77). He furthermore stated that indigenous education "ensured cultural continuity between one generation and the next and was essential to the continuance of the intellectual of the culture, survival of the mental, spiritual, emotional and health of the cultural unit and its environment" (Seroto, 2011). Therefore, informal education of which indigenous education is part is described as a "lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p.8).

Indigenous knowledge “reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organise

that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives” (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p.3)

Indigenous education could potentially inform indigenous development in cases where formal education and modern development does not have a strong presence to influence livelihood choices. In this way, post-development theory is now explored with appropriate practical methods to critically reflect on education and livelihood from the development perspective.

2.2.5 Education and San people in Namibia

According to Thiem and Hays (2014, p.1), Moses //Khumub, a member of Namibia San Council, supports education for San people declaring that "San empowerment and education must be given priority" and goes on to highlight that:

"Educated and empowered people can lead their own development, and San people are no exception. If San people are not empowered and do not take the initiative their current dependency will remain the same."

Apart from the ideal concept of education as described by Mohottige (2011) and //Khumub (Theim & Hays, 2014), there are other factors to consider when education is being delivered. In their discussions about education for San people, Theim and Hays (2014) noted that Namibia has substantial inclusive education policies including requirements for education of minorities. ‘They stress that though this is the case, most San people have a problem with access to education. The education level for both men and women is low and according to those San and non-San people in the communities that were studied, the low level of education is seen as determining factor for lack of economic progress and for not "achieving a social and political status equating to that of other Namibians" (Theim & Hays, 2014, p.524).

The fact that Namibia has an inclusive policy for education for indigenous people and yet San people's participation in formal education is low, questions the implementation of the policy and formal education explicitly for San people. Thus, part of the research is to probe the usefulness of formal education to the livelihood strategies of San people through engaging with those who went through or are currently in the system as well as those that did not go through formal school. Majority of San people do not complete primary school within the formal

education learning system (Dieckmann, Thiem & Hays, 2014). Several findings indicated that social problems, as well as a lack of adequate information on the relevance of formal education to San people, have resulted in high rates of school dropout and lack of interest in education (Dieckmann, Thiem & Hays, 2014).

The education aspect of this research will focus on the formal, non-formal and informal education system that San people are exposed to and have knowledge of and how it has contributed to their livelihoods. Thus, this research has looked at indigenous education and modern education as it provides a holistic approach to the understanding of education's role in livelihood approaches. The role and function of education is regulated by societal and natural conditions (Turkkahraman, 2012). Therefore, context is imperative in analysing how education works and its effects.

2.3 Understanding livelihood

2.3.1 Sustainable livelihoods framework and livelihood strategies

'Livelihood' is a term defined as the inclusion of capabilities, assets, and activities needed for means of gaining life or a living (Dyer, 2014, p.26). A more inclusive understanding of livelihood and sustainable livelihood by Department for International Development (DFID) as follows:

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base. (DFID, 2000)

The approach to sustainable livelihood is people-centred, holistic, dynamic, focuses on building strength, it considers macro to micro linkages and it advocates for sustainability (Glopp, 2008). A sustainable livelihood framework as a comprehensive tool is used to determine livelihood strategies. Livelihood strategies consist of integrated activities people execute to achieve positive livelihood outcomes (DFID, 2000). Petersen and Pedersen (2010) also defined livelihood strategies as ways in which people act to achieve anticipated livelihood

outcomes. These livelihood outcomes can be used to reduce vulnerability and improve food security (DFID, 2000), meaning that livelihood outcomes are the achievements of effective livelihood strategies (Petersen & Pedersen, 2010). However, livelihood strategies do not operate in isolation. The strategies depend on transforming structures and processes, which are influenced by livelihood assets that are based on vulnerability context (Glopp, 2008).

When it comes to the San, noticeable themes of livelihood actions/strategies have emerged from existing research and reports. According to Suzman (2001) and Dieckmann, Thiem and Hays (2014), these themes are food aid, small scale farming, hunting and gathering, external employment and social grants. Those that are specific to San in Oshanaishiwa are "food aid, piecework, veldfood gathering, pension funds (social grants), subsistence agriculture and farming, some limited Income Generating Activities (IGAs), child labour and begging or asking Kwanyama neighbours for food" (Mouton & Dirkx, 2014, p. 243).

San people are described as having a close relationship with each other, which scholars see as a strategy for securing and sustaining food resources and easing community engagement (Chebanne, 2010). The goal of livelihoods in this research is to analyse the diverse ways or lack of such ways that people endeavour to make a living.

2.3.2 Poverty and livelihoods

Namibia is one of the moderate developed countries in Southern Africa (Suzman, 2001). Even to the extent that the country is currently labelled as a middle-income country by the United Nations. However, this label does not resonate with the country's reality as the gap between the poor and the rich widens by the day. According to Suzman (2001), the distribution of wealth is unequal which affects the majority of the citizens, but "the majority of San people are extremely poor" (Suzman, 2001, p.9) and living in poverty. Lack of livelihoods harms communities, and the San people are no exception. Poverty is a catastrophe which contributes to the ongoing lack of livelihoods.

The meaning of poverty is, however, obscure. Various researchers and institutions have provided multiple descriptions for poverty. In this study, I will look at poverty from Sen (1985) perspective as a "deprivation of capabilities." This approach to poverty is not relative, absolute,

or even materialistic. It is a holistic understanding and recognition of many factors and players that affect individuals and communities. Another understanding of poverty relevant to this research comes from Townsend (1979, p.31), who explained that poverty could mean that people lack resources, participation in activities, and living conditions that are similar to norms within their societies.

2.4 Poverty and power dynamics

Young (2009) has contextualized occurrences of power dynamics in societies through what is called the five faces of oppression. These five categories are exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Referring to the characteristics of indigenous people indicated before, San people as indigenous people are affected and face all these faces of oppression, and as such, negative power dynamics inevitably compromise their livelihoods. Luke (2005) explained a radical view of power and highlighted that power is force, manipulation, coercion, influence, and authority, where one person or group has more political or societal control than the other, resulting in the other being compliant to the needs of the one consciously or unconsciously. Exploitation, marginalisation, and powerlessness have much in common as they are all defined social classification of labour, materials, and access to resources (Young, 2005). Cultural imperialism, on the other hand is the domination of one culture over another by enforcing its way of being into the other culture in an effort to instill superiority, consequently creating stereotypes (Young, 2005).

As part of history, San people in Southern South struggled with both civil and political rights, representation and suffrage including social, economic and cultural rights (Hitchcock, 2012). Still, this fight is far from over. Enormous social problems confront the San population in Namibia, and the difficulties are linked to extreme poverty caused by the history and the inability or incapacity of institutions to adequately address the plight of San in Namibia, which inevitably continue reinforcing the above mentioned power dynamics. According to Suzman (2001), the widespread social problems within San communities are extreme poverty, lack of education, alcohol abuse, sickness and disease (HIV/AIDS, TB, pneumonia, gastro-intestinal illnesses, malaria and depression), teenage pregnancy, social exclusion and lack of employment. Most of these problems have a direct effect on livelihoods and do present shocks and stresses on the livelihood actions and strategies.

2.5 Livelihood Diversification

The concept of livelihood diversification is thus crucial in determining livelihood strategies in rural settings such as Oshana Resettlement Farm. Diversification could be understood in this context as an increase in various ways present to achieve something. In this case, "Livelihood diversification is an active social process of an individual or household diversification, involving the maintenance and continuous adaptation of a highly diverse portfolio of activities over time in order to secure survival and improve standards of living (Loison, 2015, p.1). This definition of livelihood diversification resonates with that of Ellis (1998) who referred to the terminology as a process whereby households build distinct portfolios of activities and social support competencies for survival leading to an improved their standard of living.

Loison (2015) furthermore emphasised that, livelihood diversifications for rural areas are categorized by sector, function, and location, which are classified based on the available livelihood strategies. Livelihood diversification is imperative to communities in ensuring that multiple shocks do not stress these strategies simultaneously, which could result in a lack of livelihood outcomes. Barrett, Bezuneh and Aboud (2001) alluded to the fact that in many conditions where high-risk agriculture production and poverty is present, the poorest small scale rural farmers without assets to resist shocks are pressed by the situation to search for other ways to make income which involve partaking in risky nonfarming activities (Barrett, Bezuneh et al., 2001).

2.6 Understanding Food Security and Climate change

In this research, I adopted The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) definition of food security as “a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (Connolly-Boutin & Smit, 2015, p.388).

There is no repudiation that global climate change is by far one of the extreme challenges the world is facing in this century. In recent years, all over the world, different ramifications of climate change emerged. For instance, heat stress, change in rainfall patterns, sea-level rise,

saltwater intrusion, loss of biodiversity, drought, habitat loss, and freshwater depletion and pollution (Benson, 2008). Global warming (being used in this sentence interchangeably with climate change and as a cause and effect), is of substantial alarm in many societies with profoundly adverse influences on human lives (MET, 2011). This is seen through changes in food production, scarcity of water or lack of water supply thereof, health issues alluding to tropical diseases such as malaria and other vector-borne diseases, land unavailability, energy and ecosystems (MET, 2011). In so, poor countries, mainly those in sub-saharan Africa, are probable to be affected by climate change impacts with little capacity to adapt to such impacts mostly because of political and socioeconomic stresses (Connolly-Boutin & Smit, 2015). Paradoxically, these most hit countries do not contribute a lot of emissions which results in global warming problems (MET, 2011).

Many of these effects of climate change have direct effects on food security. It is almost impossible to conceptualise livelihood without food security discourses. Food security plays a crucial role within livelihoods as an end product of secured livelihood through sustainable livelihood strategies. In most rural settings within communal land, food security is obtained through agriculture's crop production. Therefore, it is also inevitable to mention food security, without mentioning climate change and its impact on livelihood strategies and, eventually, food security.

Climate change carries a massive direct negative implication on food security. The stress and shocks mentioned in the livelihood framework constitute environmental conditions as well (DFID, 2000). In the African continent, persistent severe droughts have sent shock waves that affect the most vulnerable people and communities on the continent (Connolly-Boutin & Smit, 2015). Such shocks are enabled not only by poverty but also by the weak institutions resulting in food insecurity (Connolly-Boutin & Smit, 2015).

Namibia as a Sub-Saharan African country is no stranger to uneven weather patterns. This country is classified 22% as desert, 70% as arid to semi-arid, and approximately 8% as dry sub-humid (Turpie et al., 2010). According to the Ministry of Environment and Tourism Namibia is and will continue to be hard hit by the climate change because of the mentioned geographical position of the country. The ministry flagged out few points on the adversity of the impact (MET, 2011).

“The following highlight the vulnerability of Namibia to climate change:

- *Namibia's climate is highly variable. Climate change is expected to worsen this variability and to amplify its adverse impacts.*
- *The economy of Namibia is highly dependent on its endowment of natural resources including diverse rangelands, arable land, mineral deposits, ecosystems, and biodiversity. Adverse impacts of climate change predicted for Namibia pose a great threat to the economy and sustainable development. This in turn will affect the attainment of national development goals and plans.*
- *Socio-economic factors including population growth, high levels of poverty, lack of income and lack of employment opportunities greatly worsen the vulnerability of households to the impacts of climate change" (MET, 2011, p.3).*

The aspect of climate change is contextually paramount to this study because San people have been greatly affected by it. Since 2012, Namibia has been experiencing severe droughts, with 2019 declared as the driest year ever experienced in 90 years, leaving a momentous number of people under food insecurity (Shikangalah, 2020). This led to the President declaring a state of emergency over drought, seeking for donations to assist the country and distribute drought relief food to the nation (Shikangalah, 2020). Drought, in this context is referred to a period of time, be it some months or number of years that have atypical dryness as a result of below-average rainfall received causing low yield outcomes relative to the yearly expectations (Rothauge, 2001). The consequences of drought similar to those of actual climate change mentioned above includes crop failures, livestock losses and severe socio-economic disruptions to humans (Rothauge, 2001).

2.7 The Intergenerational Approach

An imperative part of this research is the intergenerational approach to the understanding of education and livelihood strategies for San people from different generations. In this context, I would like to adopt the definition of intergenerational as "the way values, knowledge, and practices that are prevalent in one generation are transferred to the next generation" (Trommsdorff, 2009, p.127). In addition to the above definition, there is a concept of intergenerational cultural communication which refers to the practice in which reproduction of culture is passed on to each successive generation (Trommsdorff, 2009). This research also looks at the way each generation feeds from each other through their social or community

interactions in terms of knowledge sharing of issues pertaining to livelihood strategies and education.

Intergenerational as part of cultural communication and learning is embedded in informal education and is also part of the already described indigenous knowledge although, intergenerational education has been formalised across the world to “facilitate learning opportunities among different generations” (Sánchez, Whitehouse & Johnston, 2018). Intergenerational approach is eminent in the world with aged population, meaning the knowledge and wisdom of the elders need to come out especially with many social and environmental challenges facing the world today (Sánchez, Whitehouse & Johnston, 2018). Intergenerational learning is primarily centred on the role elders’ play in shaping the lives of the younger generation in different aspects of life derived from experience (Chineka & Yasukawa, 2020). Some of the learning gain through intergenerational approach comprises of knowledge of food grown locally and other behavioural issue (Chineka & Yasukawa, 2020). Intergenerational has a component of relationship between generations and how they can live in a holistic environment, feeding into each other’s knowledge of the current and previous world. There are however some characteristics of this approach which clashes namely political and religious beliefs, sexual orientation, and economic status quo (Chineka & Yasukawa, 2020).

In relation to this study, intergenerational dynamics have been explored in terms of livelihood strategies. The research looked at components of strategies that are shared amongst generations to ensure not only cultural continuation but also sustaining vital knowledge of livelihoods and survival. With this learning, the research also looked at the practicalities of the knowledge whether they are being carried out and how. The intergenerational approach is an integral part of the research design and it is incorporated within the framework because it is not a stand-alone concept.

2.8 Similar research

This study is not happening in isolation. Similar studies, with different demographics have been conducted on the topics of education and livelihood. Most conspicuous is a research assessment carried out in Namibia assessing the status of San people. This research looked at the holistic

context of San people, including food security, access to land and information, their education and health status in Namibia.

Additionally, a student at UKZN conducted an academic research titled 'The Sustainable Livelihood Approach: A Vulnerability Context Analysis of Ngwatle's !Kung Group Basarwa, Botswana' where the student looked at the livelihoods of !Kung people in Botswana and another student from Victoria University at Wellington, New Zealand wrote a doctorate thesis on 'Moung Livelihoods and the Role of Education in their Development: A case study of a Muong community in Cam Thuy District, Thanh Hoa Province, Vietnam'. These theses are closely related to my research areas and may offer baseline understanding of studies looking into education and livelihood. The aspect of connecting the roles of different educational approaches and how these approaches shape livelihoods strategies is relevant to Namibia, which seems to be struggling with appropriate interventions, both developmental and educational in supporting San people's sustainable livelihoods and well-being.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This research is guided by three discourses which are education, development and livelihood strategies. As a case study of San people from Oshanashiwa resettlement farm, theories of education and development are used as lenses to contextualise and understand the subjects of the research. Sustainable livelihood framework, post-development theory and post-colonial theory will be the frameworks on which the research will be built. Sustainable livelihood framework is self-explanatory in assessing livelihood strategies. Post-development and post-colonial theories are education and development theories which I will use to analyse the approaches to development in the context of San people.

2.9.1 Education as a theoretical concept

A lot about education has already been alluded to. Education is crucial to the development of society. The principal purpose of education is to 'sustain individual and societal improvement' which will contribute towards social progress (Turkkahraman, 2012, p.28). This perception can also be found in Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance speech where he explained that one of the purposes of education is to pass on the accrued wisdom and knowledge about the society from one generation to another in order to prepare "the young people for their future

membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development" (Nyerere, 1968). Hopkins and Mckeown (2002) furthermore mentioned that the economic development trends in the world are consistently changing; therefore, different educational initiative such as public awareness, education and training are required to keep up with innovations.

Education can be used as a tool to emancipate or control as indicated below from (Matambo, 2018, p.5):

“On the one hand, education can be used by those in positions of power to “educate” or indoctrinate learners about how society has operated and should continue operating with the view that those being educated will conform to the status quo. On the other hand, education can also be used by individuals who critically assess their social context and try to find ways in which they can use education to transform an unjust society”.

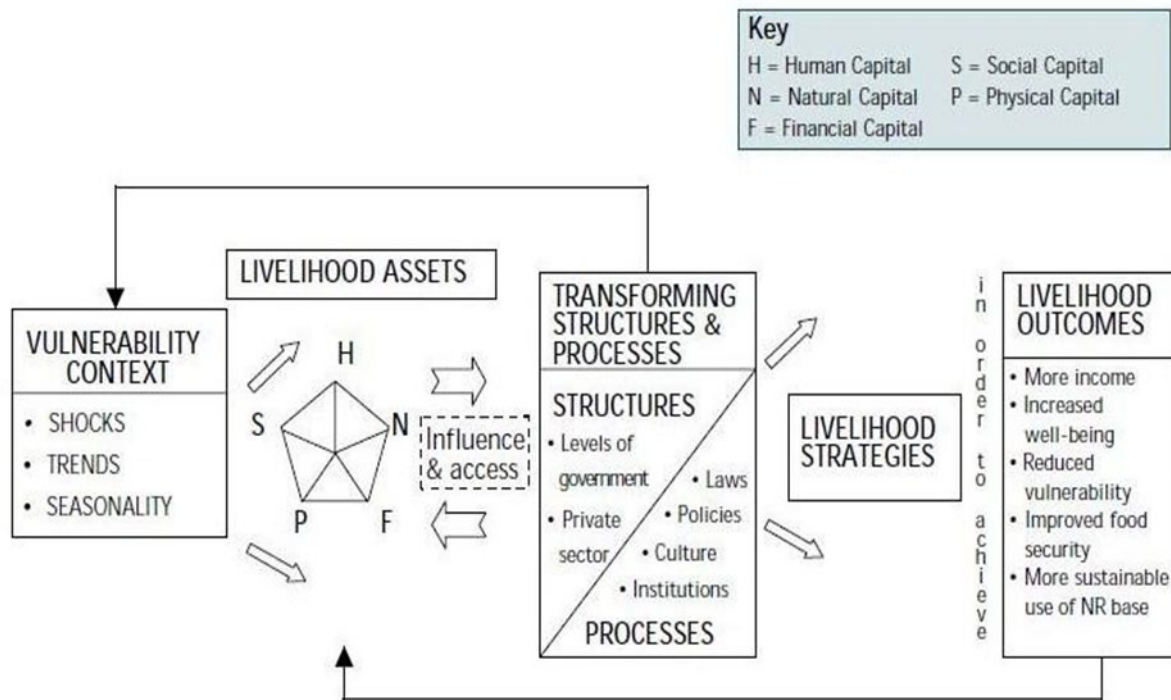
In this research, the interest is on how education is a tool to determine the types of livelihood strategies San people employ. Education is a question of empowering individuals and groups to expand their freedoms and enhance their local capacities to be able to manage and name the world in their own words, as Paulo Freire (2000, p. 88) has succinctly put it.

2.9.2 Livelihood framework

The livelihood framework consists of vulnerability context, livelihood assets/resources, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. This research on education and livelihood will focus more on transforming structures and processes (within which education falls), livelihood strategies (main concept of the research) and outcomes (as a measurement of the livelihood strategies).

The vulnerability context encompasses other contextual conditions and trends not limited to weather conditions such as history, politics, social differentiation, demographic (Scoones, 1998) just to mention a few. This illustrates that the framework’s point of entry in the analysis of the vulnerability context is holistic. It looks at all various dimensions of the situation at hand. The framework furthermore as an analytic tool identifies livelihood assests or resources possess by mostly individuals to be used for livelihood strategies in order to realize livelihood outcomes

(Scoones, 1998). The framework stresses the importance of an enabling environment such as institutional processes and structures, laws and policies which can hinder progress of livelihood strategies when not in place or being misused. The figure below illustrates the livelihood framework as described by DFID.



Source: DFID, 1999, Livelihood Framework

According to Krantz (2001), the sustainable livelihood approach highlights poverty in three ways. The first is that even though economic growth is pivotal for poverty reduction, there is no 'automatic relationship' to correlate the two. Poverty reduction depends on whether the poor have capacities to take advantage of expanding economic opportunities (Krantz, 2001). Secondly, it is the awareness that to the poor, poverty goes deeper than just not having an income. It includes other components such as poor health, lack of literacy, insufficient social services and lack of power, amongst others (Krantz, 2001). Thirdly is the realisation that poor people know what is right for them and should be able to participate in policies and interventions that affect them fully (Krantz, 2001). Therefore, based on these three realisations, this approach focuses on the livelihood of poor people, it does not encourage unitary conventional standard procedures of top down approach to implementation but it rather emphasises on the participation of affected people in the implementation of activities (Krantz, 2001).

2.9.3 Post-colonial theory

Post-colonial theory came from the paradigm that is against the domination of colonial influence on the marginalised. These theorists "have highlighted the way in which dominant discourses have distorted and silenced views and voices of people on the margins while privileging the identities and cultures of the powerful" (Young, 2000). According to Parsons and Harding (2011), post-colonialism theory was designed to search for justice. This theory also looks at the social and psychological suffering of the victims of colonisation, including exploitation, enslavement, and violence (Parsons & Harding, 2011). One of the overall goals of post-colonial theory is to return and rehabilitate the fundamental power that the colonial era took from the marginalised (Parsons and Harding, 2011). Finally, the theory also "identifies the complicated process of establishing an identity that is both different from, yet influenced by, the colonist who has left" (Parsons & Harding, 2011. p.2).

Within the post-colonial discourse, a reference is made towards the people on margin whose voices are silenced and are considered to be of low social class (Hooks, 1990). These group is called subaltern. According to Smith (2010), the notion of subalternity is derived from Antonio Gramsci's work of cultural, religion and capitalist hegemony. This concept could be found in the work of Spivak (1988) on which she adopted the discourse from Gramsci by referring to subaltern as people in the society who are unrepresented. However, Spivak (2005) also emphasized that her interest lies in the definition of subaltern as "*to be removed from all lines of social mobility*" (p. 475). This is an interesting concept particularly because San people fit within this group in Namibia.

Post-colonial approaches to education have highlighted issues of identity, culture, and language. They have questioned the colonial biases of the curriculum. They have pointed out that local knowledge and local languages have been marginalised in education in favour of the knowledge and language of the colonizers (Young, 2000). Some theories have argued for the importance of indigenous knowledge systems. Most have stressed the importance of valuing local culture and language and of constructing identities in education to challenge the remnants of colonial relations of power" (Youngman, 2000). This post-colonial theory resonates with the lives of San people across generations.

Post-colonial theory does not come uncontested by any mean. Abdi (2013) in his essay explained how colonial education has manifested in the hegemony of post-colonial development. He referred to the way the western influence is infested in most spheres of Africa

including the formalization of informal education systems (Abdi, 2013). This aspect questions the authenticity of all types of education and how much of their deliverance is influenced by colonialism.

The cultural hegemony mentioned by Gramsci and the hegemony within power dynamics has intrinsic roles in understanding the colonial impact on education and learning. As mentioned above, identity, culture and language have been shaped to fit the new world order of capitalism and globalization through modernisation.

2.9.4 Post-development theory

Another primary theory we are going to explore in this research is the post-development theory. This theory is different from others, particularly those that were formulated and implemented after the second world war, known as Post World War Two (PWWII) development projects. Post-development theory emerged to criticise these development theories with the aim to bring about an alternative to development and rejects the notion of development as previously known (Matthews, 2004). Post-development theory alludes to the failure of development theories to address the needs of the people. It further explains that the problem is not always with poor project implementation but with the whole notion of development. Some development theories are rooted in capitalist, Marxist, state-led or market led ideologies, which have dominated the development paradigms and resulted in negative consequences such as increased inequality, cultural homogenisation, environmental degradation and increased poverty (Matthews, 2004).

"Post-development approaches have questioned the links between schooling, growth and 'progress' as part of their general critique of development assumptions" (Youngman, 2000). This theory tried to prove why development initiatives do not work, and, it addresses the fact that poverty is real and a huge challenge in communities; post development theory also serves an alternative to other development theories (Nustad, 2001).

Ziai (2007) compiled numerous readings on post-development theory called *Exploring Post-development Theory - Practice, Problems and Perspectives*. Some scholars criticised post-development theory stating that this theory does not have implementation guidelines for practitioners (Ziai, 2007). In response, other scholars countered that the fact that there are no guidelines could be the reason this theory is relevant because it does not dictate to people

what should be done and how it should be done (Ziai, 2007). The theory gives power to the people to practise their knowledge of issues that are relevant to their development.

The concept of labelling Western Europe and North America as 'developed' and Africa, Asia and Latin America as 'underdeveloped' is a Eurocentric construct in which the own society is perceived as constituting an ideal norm and other societies are perceived as imperfect deviations from this norm, as inferior versions of the self, which are, however, in the process of approaching the norm – although they will never reach it. Post-development authors have convincingly demonstrated that some measures undertaken in the name of 'development' had disastrous consequences for those supposed to benefit" (Ziai, 2007, p.8)

According to Matthews (2004, p.379), three ideas that New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and similar projects need to realise regarding development are :

- *The PWWII development project has failed not only because it was frequently badly implemented, but also because it was misconceived.*
- *One misconception for this is that it is based on the universalisation of Western experience, and does not take into account the diversity of experiences, needs and aspirations of those it claims to assist.*
- *A dismissal of the PWWII development project must not mean an end to attempts to solve the problems it purported to be able to address (such as poverty, deprivation and inequity), but rather the alternative ways it pursued to address these problems.*

In the article, Matthews (2004, p.381) emphasised the notion that even though Africa has not rejected development in its broader sense (a positive social change that leads to a better life), it has rejected specific developments that have emerged with unequal values towards those it should be benefiting. Matthews (2006) echoed similar thinking stating that the post-development approach 'defined and implemented' programs based on the 'needs and demands' of communities in which implementation is taking place. In addition, Matthews (2006) emphasised that the success of improved quality of life is intertwined in addressing and promoting grassroots initiatives and local social movements.

2.10 Conclusion

These three perspectives: sustainable livelihood strategies framework, post-colonial theory and post-development theory will underpin the purpose of this research. Livelihood framework theory plays a crucial role in understanding the well-being of people. How people survive everyday life and the circumstances surrounding who and what they are. Moreover, the transformation and processes within the framework incorporate education which plays a significant role in determining the types of livelihood strategies to deploy. Post-development theory as an alternative to development puts people first. It values the initiative of those supposed to benefit from a particular developmental initiative. It acknowledges indigenous development, thus indigenous education is part of the theory. When taking into account the nature of San people, indigenous knowledge, culture and language form a vital part of their education and means of survival.

3. CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will be describing and explaining the research design chosen for this study. Moreover, a detailed understanding of the research paradigm in which the study is grounded will be provided with an explanation of the chosen paradigm. The chapter will also look at the research methods and procedures used; these include the data generation process. In addition, I will be giving an overview of the population and sampling method, data analysis, and finally, I will discuss the ethical considerations and data trustworthiness of the study to further demonstrate the coherence between the research questions and the methodology.

3.2 Research paradigm

Well-known researchers of research paradigms, Guba and Lincoln, gave a definition of a paradigm as standard established beliefs or worldview that directs research action or investigation (1994). Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) also described “paradigms as human constructions, which deal with first principles or ultimate indicating where the researcher is coming from so as to construct meaning embedded in data”, an understanding that Kivunja and Kuyini (2017, p.26) agree with. Finally, Lather (1986) explicates a research paradigm as a reflection of beliefs around the world in which the researcher resides or wishes to live. According to Kivunja and Kuyini, (2017, p.26) “it constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how a researcher sees the world, and how s/he interprets and acts within that world”. Research paradigms are therefore imperative in understanding the flow, nature and particularly the coherence of the research being conducted.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), there are several elements that a paradigm consists of and amongst those are epistemology, ontology, methodology, and axiology. Epistemology tries to answer the question “*What is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known?*”; the ontological question asks “*what is the form and nature of the reality and, therefore what is there that can be known about it?* while the methodological question deals with “*how can the inquirer go about finding out whatever he or she believes can be known?*” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.108). Finally axiology asks the question related to the

value of the research being conducted. The different types of research paradigms are positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and interpretivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Something to be noted regarding the paradigms is that each takes a different view of the world. Positivism, for instance, looks at the world through an objective lense in an effort of “finding true” and this is mostly done using experiments with verifying of hypotheses (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

This study takes a critical paradigm approach. It is imperative to note that there are aspects of this study that are leaning towards interpretivism paradigm specially the social construct of realities, the focus on the individual experiences and most importantly is that “context is vital for knowledge and knowing” (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p.34). That said, the critical stance has more ground as described in the following passage. The nature of reality is embedded within historical realism which means that the reality as known is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values, crystallized over time (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, the critical paradigm, also known as the transformative paradigm, locates its research in social justice (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). It aims to address political, social and economic issues that are responsible for creating social oppression, conflict, struggle and power structures (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). Hence the adjective ‘transformative’ can be attributed to the fact that the critical paradigm confronts social oppression and tries to improve social injustices (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

Guba and Lincoln highlighted some of the characteristics that accompany research within the critical paradigm as mentioned in (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p.35) . These include but are not limited to:

- *The concern with power relationships set up within social structures;*
- *The conscious recognition of the consequences of privileging different versions of reality;*
- *The respect for cultural norms;*
- *An examination of conditions and individuals in a situation, based on social positioning*
- *The treatment of research as an act of construction rather than discovery;*
- *A central focus of the research effort on uncovering agency, which is hidden by social practices, leading to liberation and emancipation;*
- *An endeavour to expose conjunctions of politics, morality, and ethics;*

- *The deliberate efforts of the researcher to promote human rights, and increase social justice, and reciprocity;*
- *The deliberate efforts of the researcher to address issues of power, oppression and trust among research participants;*
- *A high reliance on praxis;*
- *The use of ethnomethodology, situating knowledge socially and historically;*
- *An application of action research and*
- *The utilisation of participatory research.*

From the above characteristics, we observe that critical theory or rather critical paradigm research has a strong connection between the inquirer and the investigated subject. This connection considers the power relations between the inquirer and the subject of study, thus diluting the superiority of the inquirer to bring about an equilibrium within the interactions. This sharing of power results in a transformation process between the participants and the inquirer undertaking the research. Also known as dialogical and dialectical, this approach to research requires interactions between the investigators and subjects of study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The critical paradigm was the preferred choice for this study. Without going into depth about epistemological assumptions, on a rather small scale, with uncontrolled external factors, this study aimed to understand the socio-economic realities of San people in Oshanashiwa. Firstly, critical theory set the tone for openness as mentioned with diluted power dynamics. Secondly, it gave room for critical reflection as well a certain degree of transformation. It should also be noted that transformation within a community or a certain social setting requires institutional and policy change. For San people who have been marginalised for centuries, this holistic approach is needed for an intersectional transformation which could potentially lead to a degree of social change and justice. Therefore, “the task of critical educational researchers is to confront those in positions of power and expose the oppressive structures that subjugate people and create inequality” (Rehman, & Alharthi, 2016, p.57).

Social justice is at the core of the critical paradigm. “The critical paradigm is interested in empowerment and removing oppressive structures around research subjects” (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 35). Therefore, this paradigm gives permission to contextually interrogate and explore factors surrounding San people in terms of education, livelihood, and well-being.

In chapter 2, reference was made regarding the danger of power dynamics and how power is used to privilege certain groups of people. Critical paradigm is said to focus on uncovering agency hidden by social practices and through this uncovering liberation and emancipation can be realized (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). therefore, it is not staggering that critical paradigm deals with the power of relationships within social structures because the issues of power, liberation, social emancipation and transformational change are intrinsically political. Therefore, this study by substance is political as it sets to have discussional conversations exploring factors that will necessitate a shift in the current societal status quo.

3.3 Research Settings

This research is based on San people from the Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm. Namibia has been experiencing severe droughts over the past few years that resulted in food insecurity and negatively affected sources of income that depend on rain. As mentioned in chapter two, San people were severely affected by the drought and they had congregated in the town of Okongo where they go to search for sources of income to survive (livelihood). San people walk every morning from Oshanashiwa to Okongo a distance of approximately 6 kilometers and in the late afternoon, some would return to Oshanashiwa to sleep while others would opt to stay in Okongo. Based on this observation and trend, I made an administrative decision to collect my data in Okongo where San people come to spend their days. Having worked with San people before, there was a huge possibility that participation would have been limited had I insisted on conducting data collection at the resettlement farm in Oshanashiwa especially when there is no food and they need to go and look for it. Therefore, even though the participants are from Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm, data collection (interviews) took place in Okongo.

This research site is situated at an informal location locally known as UNAM in Okongo. The location has corrugated iron houses however, for San people, they erected the structures (illustrated below) as their temporary shelter when they are not in Oshanashiwa. Data collection took place at this site under a big shade tree.



3.4 Research method and design

In this study, I set out to critically understand the effects of education on livelihood strategies of San People considering that these livelihood strategies change from generation to generation. The change in livelihoods is moreover a result of a range of contextual reasons, including education, development and social and natural environment paradigms and institutions (Hitchcock, 2012). In order to understand the effect of education or lack of it on livelihood strategies, I had to search for deeper insights into the revolving changes of education and livelihood. These revolving changes will require critical participatory approaches to emerge. In addition, changes over time could be obtained from individuals from different generations. As earlier stated, the perspective of the young and the old will provide a comprehensive picture to understand how education and livelihoods manifested. This brings in the intergenerational aspect.

I will talk about the intergenerational sampling aspect of this study later in this chapter. At this stage of the research design, it should be noted that the study took into account the relevance of diverse voices as it is a study based on the critical paradigm. Therefore, when I came to a decision to choose the method and design for this research, I had to think of those methods and design that consider different perspectives and relationships that accommodate critical thinking and analysis, and allow for participatory engagement.

There are several types of research methods. However, the frequently used methods are Quantitative and Qualitative research (Creswell, 1994). Depending on the nature of the inquiry, the preferred method is chosen by the researcher to use in a study depending on the nature of the inquiry. That said, this research adopted the qualitative research method.

There are at least five basic research approaches researchers use in qualitative studies, and these are: case study, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and narrative (Pathirana, Jayatilake, & Abeyssekera, 2020). Taking into account the complexity of this study, the research designs employed are two – the case study and narrative description. According to Yin (2014), case study designs are suited a situation when “what” or “how” questions are being asked in the research, or a contemporary set of events are involved over which the investigator has little or no control. Case study is crucial as there were many whats and hows questions in this study that needed to be looked in to. Narrative design, on the other hand, is suitable when exploring the life and history of an individual (McNulty & Zattoni, 2013). Though done collectively, there was an aspect of life and history of San people and how the learnings have intertwined with current life or contemporary experience in the study. Sunday, Ramugondo and Kathard (2020) wrote an article about merging research approaches.

In their article, Sunday, Ramugondo and Kathard (2020) shared experience regarding the usage of case study and narrative inquiry as a “merged methodological framework” (p.1). The case study was used as a process because more than one experience was being shared and narrative inquiry was used to understand stories of the participants (Sunday, Ramugondo & Kathard, 2020). The article highlighted the following key messages (p.4):

- Case study and narrative inquiry as merged methodologies can offer new ways of documenting experiences.
- A critical paradigmatic lens offers opportunities for deeper theorizing of case study as a method.
- Narrative inquiry as an embedded methodology can serve in understanding emerging professional identities in occupational therapists.

This demonstrates that combining methodological approaches is sometimes imperative in complex research.

3.5 Qualitative research

Qualitative research design is an intricate and unquantified process. Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) define qualitative research as something used to look for values in how things interact with each other: values in actions under different circumstances and access to resources. Qualitative research is referred to by Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2020) as an approach that permits a person to examine participants' experience in detail. They furthermore continued to describe and affirm the qualitative approach in similar terms to the Fraenkel and Wallen definition by stating that it "allows you to identify issues from the perspective of your study participants and understand the meanings and interpretation that they give to behaviour, events or events" (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2020). Lastly, qualitative research gives rich narrative data.

3.6 Qualitative research and quantitative research

Before moving on to the research sampling methodology, this section will show the distinction between qualitative (mentioned above) and quantitative research. According to Hennick et al. (2020), the objective of qualitative research is to gain a contextual understanding of behaviour, beliefs and motivation with a purpose to understand why things are the way they are, how and what are the influences or context. What is, however, missing here is the aspect of change that this research looked at. According to Sharan (2002), some qualitative research approaches go beyond understanding and look at how different contexts such as social and political components influence reality verse the reality that individuals construct. In addition, critical qualitative research, a combination of the research paradigm and research methodology approach include a solid emancipatory agenda with an objective "to empower participants in the process of conducting the investigation" (Sharan, 2002 p.4). While qualitative research deals with words/textual data, quantitative research works with statistical data (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2020). Quantitative data deals with large samples to measure, count or quantify a problem (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2020).

3.7 Sample and Sampling

The study looked at formal, non-formal and informal education in relation to livelihood strategies of the San people at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm. The research needed rich

data from different sources within the community. Therefore I decided to have samples by groups. Group samples were used sequentially for data collection through focus group discussions.

Best and Khan (2006) defined a sample as “a small proportion of the population that is selected for observation and analysis” (p.13). Samples for this study were San people from the Oshanashiwa resettlement centre. Based on the nature of the study, a mixed sampling method was effected because of the participatory research approach. The purposive sampling served the purpose of ensuring generational representation is accounted for. Purposive sampling is a process whereby the researcher selects participants that are typical of the population that one would like to study, and participants should also be willing to participate in the study (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). San people from generation to generation have had different experiences including those relating to education and learning. These experiences are derived from cultural, natural, political and social exposure depicting what San people have become and their realities. This research was designed, amongst other things, to tap into those experiences and feelings and how these experiences have shaped the livelihoods of San people in Oshanashiwa today. For this reason, this research required an inclusive sample, representing San people with different learning, educational and other life experiences . Therefore, the sampling process identified two different approaches to group participants as part of the research study.

This sampling technique is known as judgement sampling because the participants are chosen carefully based on their qualities to participate in the study (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). According to Cohen (2011), the researcher selects participants and Etikan et al. (2016) agree stating that "the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience" (p.2). That said, this is a participatory engagement research, therefore, I relied on San persons in Oshanashiwa to identify appropriate participants. Hence, with their assistance, specifically from the local leadership of Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm, I called for a meeting to introduce the research and its intentions. The meeting took place in Okongo and San people attended. Keeping in mind that this is a participatory research, additional participants indicated the desire to be part of the study and complimented those chosen by the leadership. This platform was well received. The participatory approach gives power to the community

members, and in so, the reaserch should be able to accommodate extra participants in the design and that is what happened.

The initial approach was to have two groups. One group for participants aged 18 – 45 and another group of participants aged 46 and above. However, owing to the interest of community members, the sampling approach was done in a way that there were two cohorts for each age category, hence 4 groups, namely two groups of participants aged 18 – 45 and two groups of participants aged 46 and upwards. This division was done taking into consideration the intergenerational aspect in the research.

The table below shows the characteristics of the 4 groups.

Group	Age category	Number of participants
A	18 – 45	10
B	46 and above	6
C	18 - 45	6
D	46 and above	5
E	All age groups	31

Table 01: Group categories

In reference to the table above, members of the community were divided into four groups taking into consideration the intergenerational aspect. All groups consisted of participants who had experienced formal, informal, and non-formal education to a certain extent. Gender representation was considered for both groups.

Finally, all the participants from all the groups, including some other community members, formed one group sample for a community discussion. Hence, participants came together and were engaged with participatory tools including the SWOT analysis in looking at participants' common perspectives about livelihood strategies, education and its role in the livelihoods of the residents of Oshana resettlement farm and socio-economic factors present in this community. This interaction with the community was used to cross-examine some of the key themes that emerged from the the first round of focus group discussions and this was done as part of data validation, consistency and reliability strategies, in other words data trustworthiness.

3.8 Focus Group Discussions

Various scholars such as Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) and Hayward, Simpson, and Wood (2004) explain that focus group discussion is a method where a researcher gathers “a group of individuals to discuss a specific topic, aiming to draw from the complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of the participants through a moderated interaction” (Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick, & Mukherjee, 2018, p.21). Focus group discussion is used in research where little knowledge is known about the subject, thus there is a need for further in-depth exploration (Parker & Tritter, 2006). Kreuger (1994, p.3), cited in Parker and Tritter (2006), argue that focus groups aim, ‘not to infer but to understand, not to generalize but to determine the range, not to make statements about the population but to provide insights into how people perceived a situation’ (Parker & Tritter, 2006, p.24).

Focus group discussions are sometimes confused with group interviews. One of the distinctions between these two approaches is that for focus group discussion, there is a moderator or facilitator to navigate the discussions between participants while for group interviews there is an investigator asking questions (Parker & Tritter, 2006). In this research, there was a combination of both focus group discussion and group interviews, though focus group discussion dominated. According to Bloor *et al.* (2001, pp. 42–43) quoted in Parker, and Tritter (2006, p.24),

“In focus groups ... the objective is not primarily to elicit the group's answers ... but rather to stimulate discussion and thereby understand (through subsequent analysis) the meanings and norms which underlie those group answers. In group interviews the interviewer seeks answers, in focus groups the facilitator seeks group interaction”.

This research utilised focus group discussion because it is a participatory critical research method. A certain autonomy was given to the participants to discuss issues pertaining to the needs of the community. The shift to put up group interviews came in to ensure that the research objectives were addressed.

3.9 Methodological approach

Significant elements of this research are participatory engagement and critical inquiry. These notions were key to the process. By participatory engagement, I am referring to the power of ownership and learning that participants had. The concept of power in this regard refers to the means of control; power that is needed for self-awareness, determination in ensuring enablers and resisters specifically for social problems (Quin, 2005). I engaged participants in several stages of the research and these are sampling, data generation and analysis. Other stages such as the development of research topic and the main questions were done by the researcher prior to data collection.

3.10 Data Collection and Analysis

As mentioned above, this study employed qualitative research methodology combining case study, focus groups with narrative inquiry. A case study is an empirical research methodology of inquiry, which focuses on a phenomenon within its context and is especially useful when studying a complex phenomenon (Yin, 1994). A case study was suitable for this study as it allowed the researcher to critically study the effects of education on the livelihood strategies of San people in Oshanashiwa.

The nature of inquiry used is participatory research as a process of data generation and analysis. Participatory research is a type of process that embraces "sequential reflection and action, carried out with and by local people rather than on them" (Cornwall & Jewels, 1995, p.1667). Hocevar (2015) describes participatory action research as a process designed to assist "common people, rather than the powerful". This process is multi-dimensional because it "has been refined to include planning for change, becoming involved in and taking note of the process and likely impact of change, reflecting on the process observed, and re-planning before beginning the cycle again" (Hocevar, 2015, para.1).

The participatory research process enables mutual learning that could be described as transformational, empowering and leads to a certain degree of social change (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). As a participatory research study, this research aimed to explore the contribution of education to the livelihood strategies of San people in Oshanashiwa Resettlement Centre and it is about the inquirer (me) and the subject (San people) discovering

information together by gaining an in-depth understanding of the perspectives of San people in Oshana Resettlement Farm on the role of formal, non-formal and informal education played on their livelihood strategies. At the same time, it is about critical thinking, transformation, empowerment and change. As such, local people (San people) were at the centre of this process. This means that the data collection, interpretation and analysis are carried out with the local people (Cornwall and Jewels, 1995). During this process, the participants had an opportunity to retrieve experiences and knowledge that add value and strengthen to the current livelihood strategies or those that have not.

Iteratively using the framework of the Annotated Experiential Learning Cycle (Quin, 2014) to guide generative reflexive analysis, the inquiry process meant following these steps during the discussions:

- Participants shared experiences;
- Participants were given time to observe and reflect of the shared experiences;
- Participants thought about how the experience could be more effective;
- Participants recommended new ways that emerged from the process and the cycle starts again.

Participants were able to contribute towards data analysis and interpretation through the utilization of the learning cycle. In the following chapters, there will be overlaps between data analysis and interpretation because of this approach to data generation.

With the above in mind, appropriate qualitative, participatory methods such as focus group discussions, SWOT Analysis, that can be traced to the 1960s (Fine, 2009), timeline, and eco-model (Quin, 2021) (an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1992)) were used as tools for data collection and data analysis. The research analysis was combined with information from original observations and reflections of participants on their livelihoods and learning, leading to co-analysis where relevant analysis from reflections, action and learning are identified by the researcher. This is because the study has multiple threads and aims, requiring the engagement of the participants. Participatory research techniques or tools have the ability to uncover hidden and unspoken issues (Harley, 2012, p.322). SWOT analysis was relevant to observe and identify livelihood strategies while the time-line showed how the livelihood strategies have changed over time and how education has evolved over the years and the link between education and livelihoods. In applying these tools, the questions were

posed to the participants in a manner that allowed for the extraction of knowledge. These conceptual tools for participatory research strengthened the analysis and quality of the study and the learning process for participants.

Using these tools as a guide for questioning, the process captured different forces and elements of conducting livelihoods and being of participants within the conditions of their context over period (Quin, 2015). Participants were allowed to analyse their own lives, make meaning of the ways information has presented itself and see how the findings can be used for social change/transformation. Through sharing and interaction of participants, new knowledge and insights were formed. According to Babbie and Mouton cited in (Harley, 2012), the key components in this approach are "participation, engagement, involvement and collaboration with participants involved in the research as equal partners. The participants are co-researchers whose insider 'local knowledge' is valued for sense-making" (p. 64).

Based on the research questions, I conducted a series of focus group discussions with the groups over a period of six months. As an unstructured interview, the process was flexible (Kumar, 2011). Various data-capturing tools were used, such as audio-recording and note-taking. This depended on what was appropriate and accepted by the participants. Proper rapport was established between the researcher and the participants. Rapport is outlined as "a feeling of connection, mutual comfort and conversal ease" (Bell, Fahmy, & Gordon, 2016 p.195). There were probing questions throughout the generation of data. More specifically, during discussions, as information was shared amongst participants, follow-up questions were asked to reflect on shared knowledge and contribute towards the viability, validity, authenticity, relevance and usefulness of the research.

The issue of validity of data collected is crucial. Critical reflection and follow-up questions during the discussions were two of the methods I engaged with to ensure reliability and validity of the data collected. Though testing of reliability has not been strongly recommended for qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicated that where there is validity, there is reliability. According to Jakob Alexander as quoted in Yeasmin and Rahman (2012), "By combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and empirical materials, researchers can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies". Therefore, triangulation plays a role in this process. More information on trustworthiness is provided towards the end of this chapter.

3.11 Steps in Data Analysis

As much as the above tools were used for data analysis, the research has not omitted the traditional data analysis systemic approaches. All the five focus group interviews were audio-recorded. This translates into 5 transcribed interview scripts that the research and data analysis worked with. All the scripts were written in Microsoft Word. I listened to the interviews multiple times to make sure that all the contributions from the interviews are captured and recorded. In this study, I used thematic analysis. Therefore, the following six steps were followed to understand and analyse the data as highlighted by Creswell (2014):

1. Familiarisation
2. Coding
3. Generating themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Writing up

More on data analysis will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

“Increased societal sensitivity to human rights and reactions to egregious violations in the name of research spawned the codification of ethical principles and their widespread adoption” (Meltzoff, 2005, p.312). There have been times when research was conducted in ways that harmed participants and abused their rights and did not respect their dignity. The issue of ethical consideration is to protect the participants or human subjects in any research (Arifin, 2018). This protection includes misconduct and plagiarism (Wassenaar, 2006). In a qualitative study for instance, ethical considerations should be taken more seriously because of the in-depth nature of the study process (Arifin, 2018). According to Wassenaar (2006, p.67), there are four known philosophical principles that guide ethical research, namely:

- Autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons;
- Non-maleficence;
- Beneficence; and
- Justice.

3.12.1 Autonomy and respect for the dignity of person

This principle, which is associated with the Nuremberg Code, upholds the issue of voluntary participation and informed consent (Wassenaar, 2006). This is where notion of confidentiality is also embedded. It is imperative to any researcher to approach consent as of the highest priority in research. *With informed consent, this is where integrity standard components are introduced such as (Wassenaar, 2006, p.72):*

- Provision of appropriate information to participants;
- Ability to understand of participants' concern
- Voluntary nature of participating and freedom to decline or withdraw after the study has started; and
- Formalisation of consent, mostly done in writing.

In respect to this study, I called for a meeting with community members and their leadership to inform them about the study and explained the purpose in order for the participants to understand the intention and aim of conducting a research of this kind within their context. The sharing of accurate information during this stage was crucial in order to find research participants that understood and valued taking part in the study. A consent form was shared with the participants and it highlighted the issue of consent, voluntarism, risks, and participation. The form is annexed.

3.12.2 Non-maleficence

This guiding principle is to make sure that “no harm befalls research participants as a direct or indirect consequence of the research” (Wassenaar, 2006, p.67). The word ‘harm’ is relative and should be treated with caution because harm can be referred to as being wronged. Therefore, it is crucial that the research does neither harm nor wrong to the participants. The participants were informed about where their information will be shared. Moreover, since this is a case study of a specific community, that identity will not be shielded; however, the names of the participants will be withheld and will stay anonymous. In addition, the study was granted permission to go ahead by the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement as the custodians of resettlement centres, thus, the gatekeepers are aware of this research and have requested a copy of the masters thesis upon completion for them to incorporate the findings within their operations.

3.12.3 Beneficence

Beneficence mandates the researcher to try and ensure that the research has a maximum benefit for the participants of the study (Wassenaar, 2006). This principle is a risk/benefit determinant, meaning if the risks of the study outweigh the benefits, the study is not worth taking. Thus, the researcher should “identify all the possible risks, harms, and costs of the research to the participants, and specify means to minimise such risks and cost so that the risk/benefit ratio is favourable” (p.71). The research posed no harm to the beneficiaries. As a research set within a critical paradigm, there was a significant empowering process and transformation of the participants during the discussions of the focused groups. Some of the benefits from this study are the recommendations that will be made by the researcher to different stakeholders and agencies in Namibia on how San people in the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm would like to be engaged in terms of livelihoods, education and other social factors that emerged from the study.

3.12.4 Justice

When it comes to justice, the principle is that “people receive what is due to them” (Wassenaar, 2006, p.68). In other words, there should be fairness in the way the researcher treats the participants, and there should be equity applied at all stages of the research. This fairness includes the selection of participants which should not be a convenience sample (Wassenaar, 2006). This principle also makes provision to support and care for participants who might have been harmed or distressed during the study. The researcher approached this principle with much consideration and respect to the participants. The participants were informed twice about the purpose of the study. First, it was during the orientation meeting before sampling and the second time, it was before the focus group discussions were conducted. The informed consent form in addition was read and provided to all the participants in which it was clearly indicated that if a participant wished to withdraw from the study, they could do so freely. And as participatory research, beneficiaries were given an equal chance to be part of the study once they understood the aim of the study and that various voices would be represented in the discussions.

3.12.5 Trustworthiness

Participatory engagement mentioned above will inform the trustworthiness of the research. Guba (1981) indicated that trustworthy research should have credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. This research is a case study, meaning the findings will be limited to the San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm. However, they can be transferred to similar settings with caution and adaptability.

3.12.6 Credibility

There have been many debates on the nature of validity in qualitative research. Validity refers to the soundness of the research conclusions (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2008). While validity is used in quantitative research, for qualitative research credibility is utilised. According to Trochim (2001), the norms of credibility encompass a determination that shows that the findings of a particular piece of qualitative research are believable from the participants' frame of reference. This is achieved in various ways including the amount of time the researcher spends with the data and triangulation. In qualitative research, the perspectives of the participants are the only thing that matters. Participants are the ones that can legitimise the findings of the research that they have participated in because they understand the phenomena better than anyone else (Trochim, 2001). In this study, credibility has been established because the data collection was conducted through focus group discussions, where issues regarding the livelihoods and education of San people were discussed by the participants. This was done at different stages. Data was collected over the course of six months where the first two cohorts were interviewed in November 2019, while the community meeting and last two cohort interviews took place in May 2020. This time gap was necessitated by the Covid-19 restrictions

when there was a national lockdown from March 2020 and I could not travel from one region to another, in this case from Windhoek in the Khomas region to the Oshana Region.

Because of the time interval between the two sets of interviews, I had time to interact with the collected data from the first interviews to see if the data was a reflection of the study and what aspects needed more information that could emerge from the last cohort interviews.

3.12.7 Transferability

Transferability is achieved by producing detailed and rich description of context (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2008). This means that readers are given detailed information of certain structures within a specific context. Meaning, given a similar context, such findings can be applied. For instance, the results from this study should have the capacity to be replicated in other similar settings with San people, other than the Oshana community.

3.12.8 Dependability

Dependability is described as a “degree to which the reader can be convinced that the findings did indeed occur as the researcher says they did. Hence this is achieved through rich and detailed descriptions that shows how certain actions and opinions are rooted in and develop out of contextual interaction” (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2008, p.93-94).

3.12.9 Confirmability

According to Trochim (2001) “Confirmability refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed or corroborated by others” (Trochim, 2001, p.256). Confirmability can be improved by secondary data from prior research or documented knowledge on the subject. There are a various ways of enhancing confirmability. The researcher can document the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study (Trochim, 2001).

3.12.10 Triangulation

Patton (2001) stated that "triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. This can mean using several kinds of methods or data, including using both quantitative and qualitative approaches" (p. 247). This was useful tool for this study considering the mixed variables within the study and the theoretical framework that considers both the three elements of livelihood, education and development.

Triangulation is part of data analysis and trustworthiness. This research is for the people and with the people. For this reason, the 7ps of the star of participation tool played a vital role in ensuring the process of this study is viable and valid. Looking at the research objectives and questions, the study seeks for moments and practicalities within periods and contexts. The information about learning moments that contributed to livelihood strategies over time for San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm are only known by the participants themselves. The needs, or yearning and motivations for what could be, is also known by the participants.

Therefore, the study used different tools for participation and engagement to find issues and concerns, discuss them and analyse them, to reflect and learn within a safe space, that was one of the aspects of trustworthiness in this study. Other tools as discussed above were imperative in ensuring that the study was valid and sound.

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the research paradigm used in the study which is the critical paradigm. The chapter further went on to explain the research design and approach which is qualitative research with a combination of focus groups and case study. We also looked at the sampling process and that the data collection was conducted through focus group discussions. Moreover ethical considerations and study trustworthiness were discussed. The following chapter will focus on data presentation and analysis in this research process.

4. CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter (Chapter 3), I provided a justification for the research design and methodology I chose for this study. The chapter highlighted issues of data collection, data analysis as well as ethical considerations and finally the trustworthiness (Guba, 1981). In this chapter I will present the findings of data collected from the five focus group discussions (Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick, & Mukherjee, 2018) held. I merged the two older groups and refer to them as ‘older group’ while I called the two younger groups ‘youth group’. The reason behind this combination is that during the analysis process, these groups expressed similar views as the discussion processes were conducted in a similar way. Therefore, I do not predict the outcome of the research to be compromised in any way. Rather, it is a confirmation of the validity of the findings. The ‘combined group’ is used interchangeably with community group’. Refer to the tables below to see how the merger was done.

Group	Age category	Number of participants	Months of discussions/interviews took place
A	18 - 45	10	November 2019
B	46 and above	6	November 2019
C	18 - 45	6	May 2020
D	46 and above	5	May 2020
E	All age groups	31	November 2019

Table 02: Original groups as per interviews conducted

Group	Merged groups names	Age category	Number of participants
A and C	Youth group	18 - 45	16
B and D	Older group	46 up	11
E	Community group	All age groups	31

Table 03: Grouped groups as per data presentation references

4.2 Data generation process

The data was generated through focus group discussions. Five group discussions were held in Okongo with San people as shown in the above tables. The interviews (discussions) were conducted face to face with the participants over a period of six months. The first round of data collection as indicated in the Table above was done in November 2019 while the second round was done in May 2020.

In this research, I used a few participatory tools that are used and fit for both data generation and data analysis. These tools, which are both reflective and reflexive, are the SWOT analysis (Minker, 2005), the eco-model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and focus group discussions (Parker, & Tritter, 2006), utilising the experiential learning cycle (Quin, 2014) in the process. Thus, the usage of these interactive tools made the study participatory. Because of the participatory nature, the generation of the data and part of the analysis of the data were simultaneously conducted. Therefore, I present data results that were generated through these approaches.

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, San people from Oshana go to Okongo every day searching for livelihoods and means of survival. Therefore, circumstances did not allow for the interviews to take place at the resettlement centre; hence, I made arrangements to meet with the participants in Okongo at a place where some San people stay and sleep when they are in Okongo. The participants were introduced to the study and its purpose. Because it is participatory research, participants were identified together with leaders of the community as well as community members themselves. Thus, participants also included a few that had shown interest in taking part in the research.

I started the interviews with the older group, which was then followed by the youth group and finished off the first round of data collection with the community discussion. These three activities were conducted in November 2019. The second round with a different group of youth and older people was conducted in May 2020.

With the consent from all the participants, the data collection process commenced. Participants gave consent to be recorded and for the researcher to take notes as needed. It is also worth noting that the interviews/discussions were conducted in Oshikwanyama. This is a dialect of Oshiwambo, one of the commonly spoken languages in the northern part of Namibia. An interview guide was used for the group discussion.

Before I present the results, here is a recap of the nature of the study. This will serve as a reminder of the purpose of the research as I am going to deal with data presentation and analysis.

The objectives of this study are, through participatory engagement to:

1. Develop/construct my critical understanding of the *nature* of livelihoods of young and old San people at the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm;
2. Investigate the role of non-formal, informal and formal learning over time in the lives of the participants;
3. Raise awareness of contextually appropriate/inclusive education and socio-economic development policies that better support sustainable livelihood strategies for San people in the Oshanashiwa Resettlement Centre and other San people who share a similar context.

4.3 Key (Main) research question:

How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of San People at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm affected by education?

Research questions

- What are the critical eco-systemic issues affecting the livelihood of San people at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm?
- What livelihood strategies do San people at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm employ?
- How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of these San people affected by their formal, informal and non-formal education?

4.4 Description of Research Findings

Owing to the participatory nature of the study, the responses to the research questions were complex and broader than the research objectives. They are drawn from focus group discussions, with outcomes that gave an opportunity for relevant issues to emerge. Such issues added to the complexity of the collected data which formed part of this study. This does not

come as a surprise, especially given the contextual position of San people and the critical participatory nature of the study's approach.

The outcomes presented and narrated in this chapter are derived from the transcriptions of the interviews (Burns & Grove, 2011); these transcripts were translated into English as the discussions were done in Oshikwanyama. This process has given me authentic insight into the participants' experiences and perspectives as I was translating the data from one language into another. Through this interaction with the data, I was able to identify dominant themes as part of qualitative data analysis to find characteristics of the study's phenomenon (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). In using the tools mentioned above, I was able to provide qualitative information in a compressed thematical manner (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 2010) and included this in the analysis.

4.5 Participants' History

In order to ground the intergenerational aspect of this study, and as a way of getting to know the participants, they were asked to share information of where they originally came from and what brought them to the Oshana Resettlement farm.

It is also important to understand and visualise some of the places referred to in this study, specifically regarding the history of the participants. Below is a map showing the constituencies of the Ohangwena region (which borders Angola to the north) of which the Okongo constituency is part.

Ohangwena Region Map with all the constituencies

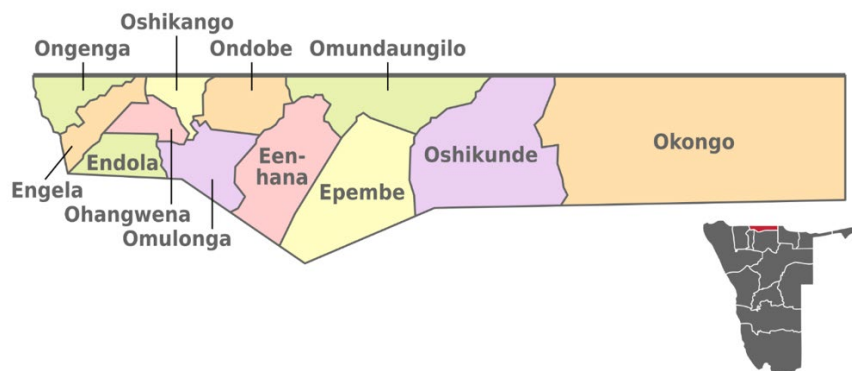


Figure 02: Map downloaded from: Wahlkreise in der Region Ohangwena, Namibia (2014) put in your references.

To get a further understanding of the participants, the table below indicates the educational level of the participants who took part in the discussions of the youth and of the older group. As shown, the lowest education attained is “no formal education” while the highest went up to grade 9. Also noticeable is that the highest grade attained by the older group respondents was a grade 3, which was called standard 1 previously.

Characteristics	Sex		Educational level	
	F	M	lowest	highest
Youth group	9	7	Grade 3	Grade 9
Older group	7	4	No formal education	Grade 3

Table 04: composition of sex and formal education level

The actual history of the participants in this section is divided into two subsections. I will provide an overview of the results from the youth group and older group as follows:

4.5.1 Group A and C: Youth Group

This group consisted of young women and men aged 18-45.

To start the conversation, a question was asked, “how did you end up in Oshanashiwa?”

The majority of these participants were born in the Ohangwena region. Most of them were born in Okongo and the surrounding villages. There are those who came from the Kavango region. As mentioned before, the Okongo constituency has four resettlement farms for San people. This means that there is movement between these centres and people from different centres also marry one another. It emerged that young people are moving and moved between the resettlement centres for different reasons. Below are few responses from participants.

Youth participant 1: *“Some of us are from Eendobe then came here when we got married. And got a place to stay in Oshanashiwa”.*

An example from one of the youth respondents expresses a common perspective: “*Some of us were born here in Okongo and stay in Oshanashiwa*”.

Youth participant 2: *My wife is from Oshanashiwa. Okongo is a big town, and this is where we come to hustle. I am from the Okavango region. There I was at cattle posts, then I came to Okongo and got my wife, who married me and took me to Oshanashiwa so I moved there and became one of the community members. I will never go back to Kavango again. My mother died there and my siblings.*

Youth participant 3: *I am from Ekoka before I came to Okongo and was moved to Oshanashiwa. Okongo is a town and everything is here. Oshanashiwa is very close to Okongo too.*

Youth participant 4: *I was born in Onamatadiva and was raised in Ohameva by Kwanyama couples before I moved back to my parents’ house which is now in Oshanashiwa.*

There are few other participants who echo similar responses regarding how they came to be part of the Oshanashiwa community.

4.5.2 Group B and D: Older group

These two groups were formed from those participants in the older generation aged 46 and above. I followed the same approach as above to provide a brief overview of the participants’ history. However, instead of providing different responses, I give here an exemplar conversation as this has turned out to be similar amongst older participants. After hearing stories from the older groups on how they ended up in Oshana, I picked up a pattern of similar movements and background. Therefore, I decided to share a specific history of one participant and then transcribed this since it has similarities with many of the other participants.

Q: Where are you from?

A: I was born in Omundaungilo, I am from there. My mother and father moved from Ondonga to Omundaungilo.

Q: How did you end up in Oshanashiwa

A: A certain man by the name of Erikki brought us to Okongo.

Q: Who is Erikki?

A: He is a Finnish person that came to get us from Omundaungilo and brought us to Okongo. When he moved us, our progress in school went down as we were pulled out of school. Some of us, we are a bit better now at reading and writing but there are many of us that never learnt.

Q: What happened when you were brought to Okongo?

A: We came and got assisted, we were taught Christianity, bible study and the ten commandments. We also did baptism education until we were baptised in this church here in Okongo.

Q: And then what happened?

A: When Erikki left Namibia, we were left stranded. We used to stay in the missionary buildings until we moved the bush. The only other person that gave us assistance was the late Rev. Mr Mufeti.

Q: Why did you move from the missionary houses to the bush? Were you chased away, or you decided to move?

A: No. We were not chased away. We decided to move. We are from the bush, so we went back.

Q: What change have you experienced when you moved from the missionary building to the bush?

A: The only change was that the person that brought us to Okongo was gone. We used to go to people's houses to look for food.

Q: Why?

A: There was no food. We had a field but there were some people that took ownership of it. So, we had no power, thus we decided to go look for food (Okunyanga)

Q: Then what happened?

A: Some of us went to stay in Ekoka and came back to Okongo. I do not know the year. Then the government and missionaries (Church) took us to Oshanashiwa where we stay most of the time, but we also have houses here in Okongo where we also stay sometimes

This story, this history, resonates amongst the older participants. The majority of this group moved to Okongo at some point from different localities in Namibia before moving to Oshanashiwa. Most of them came from Ekoka, Onamatadiva and Omundaungilo.

4.6 Analysis of livelihoods strategies in Oshanashiwa (What livelihood strategies do San people at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement farm employ)

Moving to the analysis of themes of livelihood strategies in Oshanashiwa, I used participatory tools to identify pressing socio-economic issues emerging from the resettlement. When considering socio-economic issues and factors referred to in this research, I looked at the holistic wellbeing of San people, and from their answers in the discussions identified issues that could be identified as social and economic factors.

As part of participatory engagement, the SWOT tool was used to identify livelihood strategies in Oshanashiwa. This tool was utilised during the community meeting when both the youth and older residents were part of the discussion. Appendix 04 provides guiding questions and pointers to the SWOT. With these guiding questions, each section of the SWOT was addressed individually preceded by a comprehensive description and explanation of the tool to the participants. This was necessitated in ensuring the participants understood the instrument being used.

The table below depicts the outcome of the SWOT analysis. These are the emerging issues as per participants' indications.

<p>Strength (several livelihood strategies were identified)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - San people have natural artisan skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Weaving, o Beading, o Blacksmithing o Wood carving - Braiding hair - Receive pension grant and child social grants - Government assistance 	<p>Weakness (here, we are presenting the weaknesses that emerged during the community discussion. These include weaknesses relating to livelihood strategies and the community at large)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of electricity - Lack of domestic items such as mattresses, blankets - Poverty and hunger - Crops being destroyed by Kwanyama cattle - Lack of transport <p>Lack of communication in the centre</p>
<p>Opportunities</p>	<p>Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of hope

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government is willing to assist sometimes - Borehole for water that can be used for gardening - Garden in Oshanashiwa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discrimination - Exclusion from mainstream engagements - The high death rate of San people - Lack of mainstream economic opportunities for San people - Drought
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Table 05: SWOT Analysis synopsis

4.7 Eco-model analysis of Oshanashiwa resettlement community members (What are the critical eco-sytemic issues affecting the livelihood of San people at the Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm?)

The eco-model below in figure 03 highlights some of the key issues which emerged from the focus group discussions in relation to different levels of an integrated system. In starting of this discussion I posed a question to all the groups a question; “what problems are you facing in Oshanashiwana and what is the cause?”

During the coding process, I used the eco-model as an analysis to see how different issues fit in within the system. This was pivotal in order to bring out as many issues as possible and how such issues are identified by the community and how the participants relate to them.

As we continue the data presentation in the following sections and also look at points coming from the SWOT analysis, we notice several dominant keywords . Putting this in context, health is a major issue. This affects San people at an individual level and community level. The provision of health lies with the central government in ensuring that the most vulnerable members of the society have access to quality health care. This trend of vulnerability factors plays a big role in perpetuating poverty, hunger, access to education and economic opportunities. In the next chapter, we will be looking in greater detail at how these vulnerability factors and their interconnected nature affect livelihood strategies.

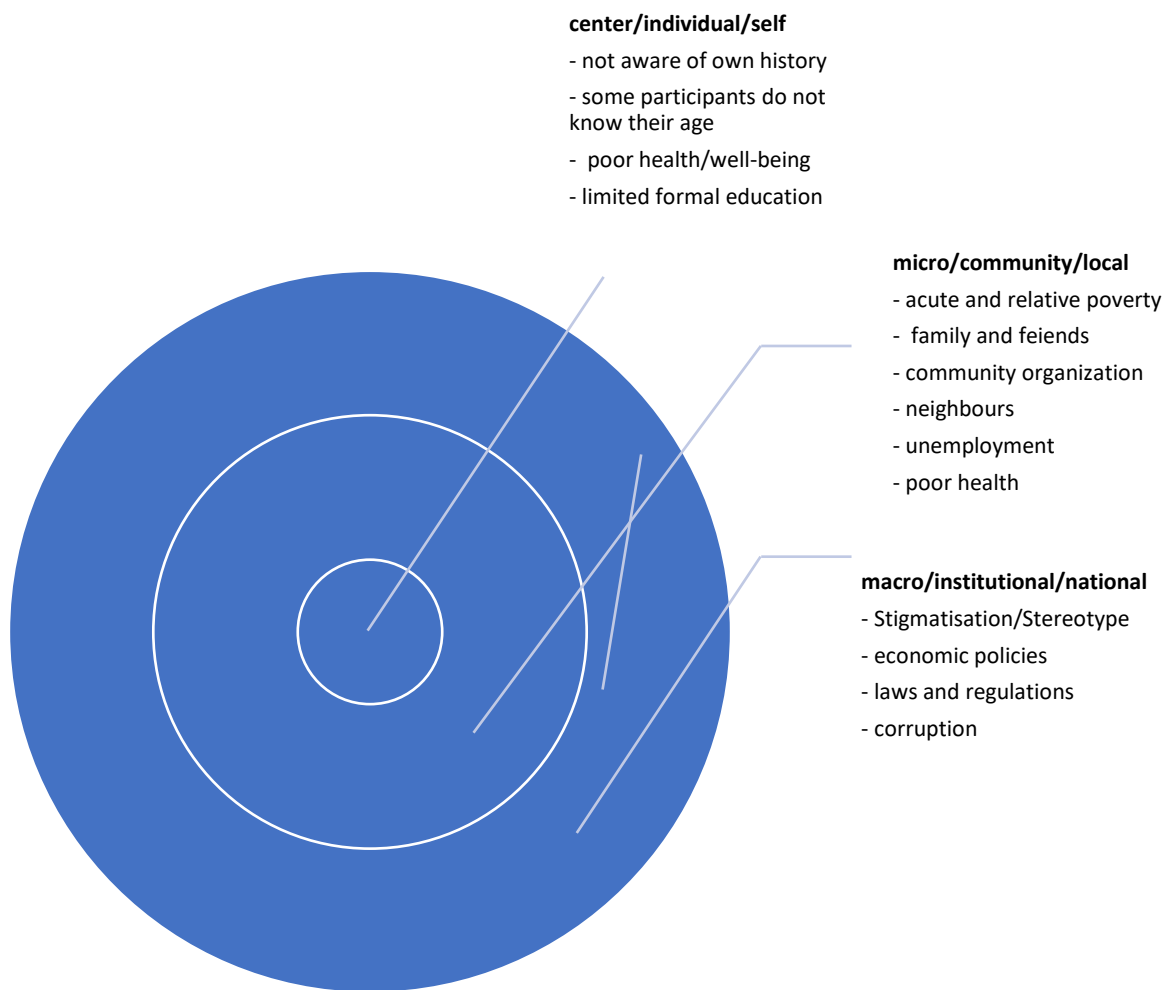


Figure 03: Critical Eco-systemic and livelihood issues

The participants shared a great deal about eco-systemic issues affecting their livelihood and their lives as shown in the figure 03 illustrated above. In chapter 5, contextual issues that emerged will showcase the depth of these factors that I will categorise as intersectional. The term ‘intersectional’ in this case is adopted from the black feminist movement as a concept “to explicate a multiplicity of socially constructed differences” (Mojab & Carpenter, 2019, p.276). It is furthermore seen as an approach to “how should we understand the organization of human life along lines of race, gender, sexuality, class, ability, and so forth, and how should our political projects respond to this reality” (Mojab & Carpenter, 2019, p.276). However, at this stage, I will only be presenting the results. I will indicate if the participant that provided certain data is from the youth groups, older groups or if it was information from the

combined/community discussion. In the latter case, a common response is selected as an exemplar.

The results are presented using thematic content analysis, and SWOT analysis (referred to above). From the transcribing and coding of the data, the themes below were derived from data emerging across the discussions from all groups.

Open-ended questions were used throughout the discussion and gave participants an opportunity to have a discussion on topics as they emerged. Because it is critical research, as the researcher, I facilitated the discussions in such a way that there were reflections and observations that fed into the transformation and learning processes for that particular group.

4.7.1 Poverty and hunger

This finding is very consistent amongst the groups. The participants have highlighted the problem of being poor, of not having food to eat and as a result they develop more health complications and eventually die.

Youth response: *San people are dying a lot. Dying, dying, dying from being poor. We don't have even a car at the centre for assisting us when we get sick to take us to the hospital fast. Now, we just come to Okongo and drink Tombo. People get sick but nothing is going to happen like in this hospital of Okongo, there are three San people that are dead because of hunger and we are being told it is Tombo. When we go to the hospital, we are told it is Tombo, but we do not have a choice. When we get food occasionally, it is not enough. Just a little piece. And we have families to feed. We need the government to look at these things and try to assist us. We are pleading very much to the government.*

Community response 1: *The biggest problem we have is poverty and hunger. Hunger and poverty.*

Community response 2: *Those things, especially what brings diseases to San people are hunger and poverty. Just like cattle die from malnutrition, we San people also face the same fate. We just find ourselves and see ourselves being carried around like a starved cow that cannot stand on its feet.*

Community response 3: *You see Miss, one of our problems as San people is that a person has a disease in their body and they are just hiding it. And when they show that they are sick, there*

is not even transport to take them to the hospital on time. The time we look for assistance, and by the time we get to the hospital, is just a corpse. The person is already tired. But poverty and hunger are the common cause of deaths in this community. A person is sick and has nothing to eat.

Community response 4: Poverty is brought to us by these institutions and offices. We used to feed ourselves with wild berries and fruits in the bush. Including eating ground roots and wild animals but right now if we kill a lizard for instance and get caught, we will get arrested because we are not important anymore, we are locked outside.

4.7.2 Health

This is a pressing social issue for San people. Drawing from the previous theme, this issue of health in the community is crucial as the fact that poverty and hunger result in multiple deaths shows. Some of the data from the interviews indicate that San people are dying at an increasing rate. At the time of the interviews, there were three) corpses of San people in the Okongo mortuary waiting for burial. The following is what the participants had to say on this theme.

Community response: San people never got sick back in the days. They used to eat different roots and cure themselves with leaves and also roots but right now, you will not find a San person practising such in this our community, now San people are just getting sick with AIDS and other viruses related to it. But many years ago, since my upbringing, I never heard of a San person that died from AIDS nor a San person that was taken to the hospital. San people used to cure themselves. Now that San people are removed from the bush and most of plants that gave traditional medication are fenced off within Kwanyama people's land, there is no way to access them. If you get in, people will follow your footsteps and beat you up. Even though you went in to look for your treatment.

Another issue that emerged regarding health mentioned at the community discussion was that some people in the community do not like to inform others that they are sick until it is already too late to be treated. This resonates as well with a response from one of the youth group who stated that:

“There are cases where one gets gonorrhoea and stays at “omapundo” being sick and they don't say anything”

The older group has showed concern with the behaviours of young people saying that:

“The world has taken our children. Young people do not want to listen to the parents and go with the world. There, they go get viruses and when they return home, they are sick”

Asked whether these viruses are a problem in the community, an older woman responded saying:

“We never had these viruses growing up. We listened to our parents. These young ones do not have respect for parents. They do not stop when being corrected against the ills of this world. Later they come back and are very sick”

4.7.3 Unemployment

Unemployment as a problem is common in many countries and Namibia is no exception. We have seen a rise in unemployment rate amongst the youth (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2018). In the labour report from the Namibia Statistics Agency (2018) 43.4% of active youth aged 15 – 34 were unemployed in 2016 compared to 46.1% in 2018, which represents a 2.7% increase in unemployment. For San people, it is even harder than for non-San youth to get employed because of the many social factors affecting them. This youth participant has alluded to some of those factors in the response below.

“I have many problems including this (cough- participant then coughs) but some of us we were educated but now we don’t feel or look like we were ever educated. We never get tenders or a job anywhere, even being a cleaner or having a job in the government. But right now we are suffering. Some of us really have better qualifications. We do not have clothes; we do not have blankets; we do not have money. Like us young people, we have knowledge, but it does not make any difference. We are young, we are useful but there is a lot of nepotism like in Okongo. In Oshana, there are a lot of people that went to school but we are suffering, I am telling you we are suffering, we need help, and as you see me crying now, it is poverty, it is being poor”.

These cries of youth participants are shared by all.. And there are those that had jobs and have indicated that they ended up working without pay and eventually leave the jobs, especially in the informal sector. One youth had this to say:

“Some of us did get a job at one point and were never paid. At the cuca shop, for instance, I was supposed to be getting N\$250.00 but nothing. You are just told that there is no money, while you are the one selling and you make money every day”.

It also came to light that there are at least two San people from Oshanashiwa that are employed by the government as soldiers in the military but only one of them comes for holidays, the other one does not come to Oshanashiwa anymore. The participants do not know the reason.

4.8 Education (How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of these affected by formal, informal and non-formal education?)

The categorisation of education as either formal, informal and non-formal and the definitions thereof, were discussed and deliberated on in the literature chapter. The term 'education' in OshiKwanyama is expressed as *“Ehongo”* regardless of the type of education. Hence, when the topic of education came up during the research, there was no limitation as to what the participants had to share. It is, however, interesting that the initial responses to education were to treat it as meaning only formal education.

4.8.1 Formal Education

Fewer than a handful of participants made it to grade 9 within the formal education system. As indicated in Table 04 above, the majority of the older group participant attended only lower primary education. In their responses to the question whether they attended school, some indicate that they went to school, some until grade 1, 2 or 3. There were a lot of responses such as “I was in school until grade 1”, “ I went until grade 2” and “I was in school until grade 3”. However, this is different from the youth participants where the majority seemed to have completed at least primary school before dropping out.

With the different types of education at their disposal, the participants gave the following perspectives.

Older response: *“Education is important. The education from our parents is the one that led us to go to school. The parents’ education is more important. This type of education gave us knowledge and realisation that we need more knowledge from formal education from school”.*

Youth response: “Education is there. Some of us went through education. We have certificates that could assist us but we are just here. Right now, we have people that know how to build, how to blacksmith, to weave, to make bead products, but when opportunities come, there is nepotism and favoritism in systems that could give us chances to get jobs”.

When it comes to formal education for the youth, some of the older participants feel that young people nowadays do not want to listen to their parents. When asked if formal education can bring positive change in the community, this older participant said:

“It could have but they (young people) have not changed because they dropped out. Life orientation is just not there”.

Another older participant stated that: *Most of them (young people) decide to leave school because they want to get married. They do not want to go back to school anymore and that is very wrong. Perhaps they think marriage is more important than school”.*

Four participants from the youth group, who are recent school drop-outs, gave various reasons as to why they dropped out of school and have not returned. Some mentioned that they fell pregnant while others said the treatment from teachers was unfavourable. This last point about discrimination towards San learners came out strongly amongst the youth groups. More details are provided below on the nature of this discrimination.

4.8.2 Non-formal education

There have been different types of non-formal education given to San people at various times. A few participants indicated that they were sent to Eenhana for vocational skills training. Eenhana is a town located about 100km from Okongo, also in the Ohangwena region. The participants stated that when there was a project in Okongo to assist San people, some of them were selected from all 4 Resettlement Farms in Okongo constituency to attend training courses in wood carving, blacksmithing, bricklaying and plastering, sewing/tailoring, beading and weaving. Those with prior knowledge on creating products from wood carving, beads, blacksmithing, fabric patterns/drawings were given short training at the resettlement farm to add value to their products in terms of quality. However, it was not easy for all participants.

“I was one of the chosen people. I went to Eenhana to study how to build, but I did not complete”, says one of the youth participants. The participant claimed that they dropped out

because *“the car left me behind when we were returning to the training”*. Another participant mentioned that they missed their family, that is why they were not able to continue with the course.

Nevertheless, San people did receive an opportunity to earn an income by utilising these new skills sets. Tautology – do not repeat the same information twice !

“I make baskets either with beads or palm leaves, and sometimes I use plastics. When I finish, I come here to Okongo and sell it. The problem is just that when we give a price, the people do not want to give us the whole amount. But because we do not have anything, we just take what they are offering”.

“She is right” states an older participant. *“You see, I was also taught how to make knives like the one I am holding now. I am going to sell it, but not at the price I want. I do not have a choice”*~.

Earlier, participants mentioned how they have qualifications, and they are not getting employed. Some of those qualifications are from these skills training courses.

Apart from artisan skills training, a few male participants indicated that they were taught how to drive a tractor for ploughing.

“When the project came, Tate Gideon taught some of us how to drive a tractor. We used it to plough our rain-fed fields. This used to help us a lot during the rainy season as we plough fast before the rain is over”

This does not seem to be the case now. Participants indicated that they do not have a caretaker at the centre anymore. According to the group, the tractors are parked at a certain office in Okongo and are not used anymore. When asked how they plough, some mentioned that they do it manually with a hoe (something they were taught while growing up by their parents), others ask for assistance from the neighbouring houses for cattle-drawn ploughs and are asked to pay. This is mostly applicable to the pensioners who receive social grants.

“Now that some of us, our health is compromised, we cannot afford to pay someone to plough for us and we do not have the energy to plough with a hoe, we end up not doing anything. Then we just wait for the government to give us food when they can”.

4.8.3 Informal education and learning

Apart from formal education, informal education especially indigenous learning was praised by participants.

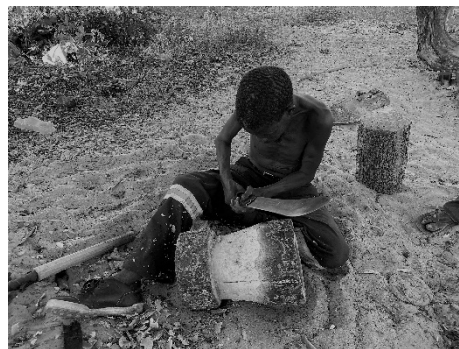
“They taught us how to sing and dance cultural things. And going into the bush to look for food such as roots, fruits and hunting animals”, says a youth respondent on intergenerational knowledge shared from the parents.

This is similar to what the older generation said about what their parents taught them. *Our mothers taught us how to harvest and extract food from different trees (omanghete). These were our foods before we moved to food eaten by Oshiwambo people. We used to go in the bushes with our parents and look for wild berries and roots.*

Some elder community members stated that they were taught how to wood carve and weave baskets by their parents. They indicated that in this way they are able to get extra income and sustain their livelihood. These pictures were taken during one of the focus group discussions with the older group. These particular participants preferred to engage in their income-generating activities whilst participating in the research. Due to the social status of San people, and to protect their identity, I decided not to show participants faces.



Picture 01: An elderly woman weaving a basket (Oshimbale)



Picture 02: An elderly man wood carving a wooden mortar (Oshini) (Used for pounding millet)

4.9 Discrimination

Discrimination emerged as one of the most serious issues and threat to San people, their livelihoods and access to different services. Discrimination in this study is referred to the stereotypes applied to an individual and group or inability to give a person the same concern, respect and consideration given to others (Macklem, 2000). Discrimination is also a ‘behaviour directed towards members of a category that is consequential for their outcomes and that is directed towards them not because of any particular cause or reciprocity, but simply because they happen to be members of that category’ (Correll, Judd, Park, & Wittenbrink, 2010, p.46) The types of discrimination experienced by participants vary and it is contextual as explained in social psychology (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Dovidio, & Penner, 2010).

Some participants claim that there is an unfair treatment towards San people in the communities by authorities and institutions. In reference to this, most San people used to reside in Okongo before they were moved to the Oshanashiwa San Resettlement Farm. In the early 1990s Okongo was slowly transitioning into a settlement leading it to become a village town council. With such development, relocation happens, and people are moved from the zones that are classified as “town” to other areas. For San people, some participants alluded to the fact that the process of relocation was different for them than some other people, stating that:

We felt like we were being chased away from land that we have cleared and moved further into the periphery without getting paid but non-San people get paid if they are getting relocated somewhere. And like that non-San people are at peace when being chased but I am not ok because I did not get paid. This kind of treatment brings about sickness too.

In addition to not having access to land, another hindering concern emerged regarding land. Perhaps not necessarily in terms of ownership, but also in terms of access to resources that come with land, resources that San people grew up being taught about as part of their livelihood. Therefore, in reference to communal land, participants voiced that:

We used to get wild fruits from the bush. Now there are fences everywhere and if we are seen within someone’s land, they chase us away while they are the ones that fenced off our food.

This statement is critical. It is pointing to substantial issues affecting the livelihoods of San people in Oshana. At one part, it is the fact that land is fenced off. The other part is that, though San people were there before, a non-San person gets the right and ownership to the land. And the final part, San people either seek permission to go on to somebody's land to look for food and in many cases are refused permission or enter anyway and risk being mistreated or stay away without accessing that particular source of livelihood.

Apart from access to land and relocations, the discrimination within the formal education system at school level was raised, especially by the youth group when I asked them "why are you not in school at the moment?".

Education is good, it is just the treatment. There is also discrimination against San scholars. A youth participant pointed out. They keep referring to us as "Kwanghalas". Teachers should be calling us learners just like other learners. They should not be saying "you kwanghala did this or that". No no no".

Again, the usage of the word "Kwanghala", a derogatory term mentioned in Chapter One, has negative connotations. Its use is a deliberate decision to embarrass San learners in front of other learners.

There are San youth that became pregnant while in school. Teenage pregnancies are very common within the San community. One particular youth wanted to return to school afterwards but,

"when I went back to school I was asked by a teacher "ano eetaxwe oda aluka natango?", so I don't think I will be able to do anything. I will try and see if I can get a job that will help me".

I intentionally left a small part of the above quotation in Oshikwanyama in order to emphasize the criticalness of such wordings. The word "eetaxwe", just like "kwanghala", is used to dehumanize the humanity of San people. "So, eetaxwe are back again?" This is a deliberate choice of words by certain teachers to refer to San learners as 'others', in the process creating division amongst San and non-San learners. "Other" is adapted from Staszak (2008) when he referred to it as "member of a dominated out-group, whose identity is considered lacking and who may be subjected to discrimination" (p.1). Thus, it is a small thing like this that forms part of a huge system enabling toxic environments and discrimination which affects San children's decision on whether to return to mainstream education or not.

4.10 Alcohol abuse

The consumption and abuse of alcohol has emerged as a cause and effect of the well-being of San people in Oshana.

“We all drink tombo. We come to Okongo every morning to hustle and drink tombo” says an older participant. *“We have many problems and we drink tombo to forget”*, participant continues.

“We are very poor, and we live in poverty. Some of us drink only tombo and do not eat anything because there is no food. We end up getting sick and dying”, declares a youth participant.

Tombo is a traditionally brewed beer as stated in preceding chapters.

Several participants during the community meeting alluded to the fact that as part of livelihood strategies, when they go to Okongo searching for piece/casual work, some non-San people who give them jobs pay them in tombo. *“We sometimes get paid tombo after we clean, rake, fetch water or get sent to the store”* states a youth participant.

Putting context to this, when San people are in Okongo, they hang out at places called Olukanda, meaning informal settlement or informal location. At these places there are many cuca shops, owned by non-San people (small shops mostly built with wood with a grass roof, selling tombo).

In order to survive San people will often do chores that they really do not wish to do out of desperation. The chores do not require any type of educational skills to carry out. Also, paying somebody with tombo (alcohol) is an indication of how non-San people disregard the worth and dignity of San people. Alcohol is a disruptive and destructive force in society when abused. It does not encourage growth, thinking or progress.

Contrary to the above inputs, another youth participant had this to say:

“We need to change our lives especially when it comes to alcohol. We San people right now, our earning goes to alcohol. When we get money even 20 dollars, without thinking you just go buy alcohol and from there you even go fight with others. We really need to change our habits. Non-San people also drink but they think first about other priorities before they buy alcohol”

This is again another loaded statement. This participant highlights the need for individual accountability. This shows the effect of years of alcohol abuse, in that there are some San

people that cannot think about anything else other than buying tombo. This could be described as an addiction.

4.11 Sexual abuse and exploitation

Sexual abuse has come up in both the older and youth group discussions. Again, what is emerging from the discussions are different levels of sexual abuse. Interestingly, there is a lack of understanding of how certain acts could be construed as sexual abuse and violence. The aspect of self-blaming, of thinking that the consequences of this violation is the victim's fault is very systemic. The following quote displays a certain way sexual abuse happens to San women. This young woman began by saying that

“A person is being told to go to the hospital, but they do not want. Sometimes we cause sicknesses to ourselves. We have been told there are certain ways of doing things, but we do not follow it”.

Without any context, the above statement does not make sense. When asked what she is referring to, the participant stated that they are talking about unprotected sex. In further elaboration and back-up by other young women, these young women are bringing forward an issue of non-San men, that have sex with San women without using protection and infecting them with Sexual Transmitted Infections. One participant added that,

“Yes, some of us know the danger of unprotected sex but we are not always listened to. And we end up having unprotected sex though we do not want”.

One more youth respondent stated the following:

This happens a lot, majority of us just leave it and let it be. There are cases where one gets gonorrhoea and stays home being sick and they do not say anything. They will be just in their room.

In addition to the above, there are two things that were shocking when it came to sexual abuse during this analysis, firstly, a young woman narrated how non-San men would enter houses where San women sleep at night (especially if they are overnighing in Okongo) and forcefully have sex with them:

“Sometimes when it is late, we sleep in Okongo. There are times when you are asleep, and you just see there is a person in your room. Then they tell you you are a kwanghala, you are nothing and nobody will believe you if you say anything. Then they proceed to do whatever they want. And sometimes we do not know who they are because it is dark”.

Secondly, another young woman narrated a story of an event that happened to a young woman saying that;

“One particular night, there were screams coming from far at night. A lady saying “help, help, help” and it was in the middle of the night. The following day somebody was telling us what happened. It turned out that this man (non-San) found the young lady walking home from the cuca shops and he just picked her up. Carrying her over his shoulder and took her to his shack. And nobody helped her”.

To make matters worse , these specific cases are not reported to the authorities because they do not think the police will believe them. Abuse cases go unreported which means that no attention is given to the plight of San women being sexually violated.

And while the youth group brought up sexual abuse so graphically ? vividly? , the older group, especially the women had this to say during their discussion.

“There are women that are left while pregnant and men disappear. There are those (men) you inform that the pregnancy is theirs and they will refuse it. Then the girls give birth, and few (men) will claim the child by words only”.

This seems to be a typical behaviour by non-San men who impregnate San women. This participant is stressing how these men impregnate their girls and are ashamed to claim ownership? responsibility and only acknowledge the child after its born mostly because of the child’s physical appearance.

Another older woman continued explaining:

“The father of the child can pay damages but if they do not want nobody cares enough to follow-up. Some people you hear them saying, “San people do not get paid”. Why would you go have sex with a San person, knowing that it is a San woman, why? What brings you to a San woman? Sometimes it is a small child you impregnate, yet you do not want to pay?”

Customarily, a man especially from Oshiwambo culture, when they impregnate a woman that never had is supposed to pay “damages” which is the equivalent to one cow. The above

participant is stating that Oshiwambo men refuses to pay “damage” to San women. It was also stated that the San women do not even know where these men’s original houses are so they can go to the man’s family and explain the pregnancy.

4.12 Institutional response to socio-economic factors

With so much negativity and challenges coming out from these discussions, thought-provoking questions developed, specifically those related to the involvement of local or decentralised institutions in Okongo in addressing some of these issues. Unfortunately, this study had not made provision to interview stakeholders; thus it only focused on the perspective and lived experiences of San people.

During the discussion on the theme of education, it was already mentioned that teachers at schools where some of the participants attended were discriminating against San children, leading to San learners dropping out of school. This in itself is an indication of the institution’s failure to uphold the “education for all” slogan and a threat to the provision of free and inclusive education to every child in Namibia.

Nevertheless, there are human rights abuse and violations happening to San people from Oshana, and potentially other San people in similar contexts.

An elderly respondent had this to say in addressing absent fathers and child maintenance:

“This is not practised. It is known by few people but not practised. Perhaps a person does not want to take their things/businesses to the offices since their marriage or engagement was not official. Mothers really need to stand up and go to these offices with their problems. These men just come to do whatever they want to San women and go. They do not treat our girls well and they do not give anything to our girls. They do not give anything. Otherwise it could be seen but there is nothing”.

Remaining with the maintenance topic, another participant from the older group stated that:

“Sometimes these are the things San women need to know. For instance, when a man leaves her with a child. She should be able to stand up for her child and demand what is due to it. The responsibility to care of a child lies with both parents. If the father is not around, then they should do maintenance. Most of these things are not taught anymore, they are lost”.

And another older participant mentioned that most of the San do not know their rights.

“We were taught but have forgotten now. There is no literacy education” They used to teach us all these things, but we have forgotten totally in our old age”.

Apart from San people not reporting abuse cases or not knowing if the issue is something worthy of reporting, as mentioned above, some institutions are part of the problem. During the group discussion with the community members, there was a lot of consensus regarding the truth of the following quotation.

“Poverty is brought on to us by these institutions and offices. We used to feed ourselves with wild berries and fruits from the bush. Including eating ground roots and wild animals but right now if we kill a lizard for instance and get caught, we will get arrested because we are not important anymore. The way our people used to live in the old days is not recognised any longer. Now, when we kill a lizard or a bird in the bush and bring it to Okongo, a police officer will come and arrest us. But this is how we used to survive. There is no way to survive anymore”.

As part of their existing livelihood strategies, San people used to hunt and sell the meat to non-San people in Okongo. This type of hunting has in recent years been declared illegal. They are prohibited by law and if carried out the person gets criminalised. The above statement also illustrates how institutions and laws are negatively affecting the livelihoods of San people. Hunting has been a practice of San people for centuries. These are ways they were taught to survive by but these ways keep diminishing in practice.

Another institutionalised system that came up is that of land. Controversies about land tenure and ownership is very rife in Namibia. Unlike other Namibian ethnic groups, this San person had this to say.

“We belong in the bush. I will have to say that the people did ok to bring us to civilisation but the places where we should have been getting our livelihood are now taken by other people and became farming areas for non-San people”.

One thing that is warmly welcomed and appreciated by this San community is social grants. These include pension fund and social grant for orphans and vulnerable children. As another type of livelihood strategy, the following was stated by one San community member during focus group discussion that:

“San people that get pension assist families. That little money is shared with many people in this community”.

With that silver lining, comes a drawback as one participant raised the following issue saying; *“Because most of the elderly and some youth cannot read, write or even sign, Ovawambo people get pension on behalf of San people and take a big proportion of the money compared to the money given to the owner. Pensioners are really suffering even the orphans and vulnerable children. It seems like the person getting money of behalf of the children will use the money for their own children, buying them clothes and give hand-me downs to San children”*

Here, we see a different part of an institutional system being used to either further oppress San people, and this time, by the society. As this discussion continued, some thing that came to light was that some of the people that collect pension or manage money on behalf San people have *cuca* shops. Participants stressed that these people encourage San people to take items from their shops on credit. When pension money comes, they deduct their debts, leaving few funds for the elderly to survive on, forcing the elderly to take more items on credit again and the cycle continues. Amongst the items taken is *tombo*.

4.13 Social change and transformation

With so many things going on and happening, it was time to reflect and think critically about the different situations the participants had discussed. I asked the groups “what are your aspirations and what kind of change would you like to see?”

One older participant could not hide her dismay about the state of well-being of San people in the community saying:

“Our journey has brought us this far and we survived. For the youth, we do not see it that way. There is no hope. There are many viruses and illnesses in our community, and they (youth) will not reach our age, with grey hair. It is scary and shocking seeing this generation going nowhere”.

The some of the youth participants appear to have hope that there is always an opportunity for change and transformation. For this to materialise there are actions that need to be taken by

San people themselves and the government. For instance, as was already mentioned, is the issue that San people need to stop drinking tombo so much.

“We need to change our lives especially with alcohol. We San people right now, our earning goes to alcohol. When we get money even 20 dollars, without thinking you just go buy alcohol and from there you even go fight with others. We really need to change our habits. Non-San people also drink but they think first about other priorities before they buy alcohol”.

These are statements made by a young community member who sounded very passionate about having positive change in the community. In addition to changing their own behaviours, San youth from Oshana also want the government of Namibia to change and assist them with employment stating that:

“Our government also needs to change. When application for employment come in, San people are left behind because they think we do not know education even though we are the first inhabitants of this land (Namibia). Application for cleaners or cooks in schools and hospitals are just given to Kwanyamas and we are left behind”.

The lack of employment amongst San youth is something the community felt strongly about.

“We went to school even until grade 9 but nothing comes out of it” referring to the effect of formal education on their livelihood strategies. *“There are just a lot of suffering in our community, therefore a person just needs to drink and not think about these things”.*

One last point made by a community member is that of mental health and counselling.

“But also, people need to assist us, to counsel us, just like now that you have come to us and discuss these things with us, you have counselled us”.

This is an indication that authorities and leaders seldomly engage San people or have discussions on matters of importance to San people. It is important to hold participatory engagement discussions that are not necessarily crafted for a certain purpose or limited to only a few issues.

Finally, especially San youth just *“need employment in order assist our parents like other tribes do”*, declares a youth as a closing remark.

4.14 Conclusion

This chapter was a presentation and analysis of the data collected from the field. Different and significant number of themes and emerging issues were presented in their raw format. Having used SWOT and Eco-Model to generate and analyse some of the data, the impacts of socio-economic factors on San people's holistic well-being are devastating. Elements of poverty, hunger, discrimination, sexual abuse and exploitation, alcohol abuse, unemployment, lack of health and education were all mentioned. This analysis chapter painted a picture of what and how the situation is for San people from Oshanashiwa. It highlighted their experiences with livelihood strategies and education. Finally, it also provided information on how San people interact with non San people and their relationship with service providers and public institutions. The following chapter will interpret and discuss these findings in details, in order to show the magnitude of these outcomes in relation to existing literature.

5. CHAPTER 5: DATA INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In chapter five, from the perspective of a critical and reflective paradigm, I am going to interpret and discuss the data results as presented in Chapter 4, that is, to discuss the findings emerging from the analysis. As a starting point, I endeavour to discuss how the findings are presented in this study from the previous chapter. In presenting these findings, I use the themes that were developed from chapter 4. However, unlike chapter four, this chapter moves beyond the descriptive presentation of data to extracting information from the literature review in chapter two to apply to the data presented in the preceding chapter. The aim is to consider more deeply and critically these themes developed in chapter 4 and critically reflect on their implications in relation to the main research question within the framing paradigm and theories.

In the previous chapters, there has been much emphasis on the conceptual frameworks in order to understand and ground the research literature. This chapter will, therefore, consider the analytical framework bearing in mind the different concepts from the eco-systemic model as a broader analytical tool for this research, and how these different aspects emerged in themes as contributing factors towards the current status of San people's livelihood and education.

The chapter is divided into four sections as per the study's objectives and these speak to the theoretical frameworks described in chapter 2. Thus, the following sections will inform the discussions and interpretations that this study is going to highlight in relation to San people's livelihoods and education.

- Section 1 will deal with eco-systemic themes emerging from the research;
- Section 2 will deal with the aspects of education;
- Section 3 will deal with livelihood and education themes;
- Section 4 will look at the theories of post-colonialism and post-development and how they influence and inform the livelihood strategies for San people.

5.2 Section 1: Eco-systemic factors

In the previous chapter, I gave a definition of what eco-systemic issues mean in this study. At the same time, I have gone through several of the issues that the participants raised. A

significant number of these issues are alarming and concerning. In this section, I will be discussing these issues. This section is also an answer to this study's first question and objective to look at the eco-systemic issues affecting San people in the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm.

5.2.1 Poverty and hunger

From the literature review chapter, I adopted the definition of poverty as a deprivation of capabilities (Sen, 1985). I understood this approach to poverty in a way that means that poverty is not relative, absolute, or even materialistic. It is a holistic understanding and recognition of many factors that affect individuals and communities and contribute to those individuals' poverty level. In addition, emerging from the literature chapter, another understanding of poverty relevant to this research comes from Townsend (1979, p.31), who explained that poverty could mean that people lack resources, participation in activities, and living conditions that are similar to the norms within their societies. These two definitions of poverty within the context of this research highlight a pragmatic understanding of the situation of San people in Oshanashiwa. Empirically, and as we have read in chapter 4, San people in Oshanashiwa lack resources, and capabilities to navigate the current ways of the mainstream society.

Looking at the responses from the research participants, these aspects of poverty have manifested in different ways. There is also a clear link between poverty and hunger amongst San people in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm. To start with, there are simply no sustainable food supplies at the farm. Sustainability of food depends on many factors, but in Namibia, especially in rural areas, food security depends on subsistence farming. Subsistence farming is a type of agriculture that produces food mainly for household consumption to sustain the family (Waceke & Kimenju, 2007). And subsistence farming depends on the availability of rain. We have read in chapter 2 that Namibia faced a dry spell for several years. This has contributed to the decrease in food production at household levels across the country.

Other factors that emerged during the research in regard to the production of food in Oshanashiwa are that there has not been sufficient farming happening at Oshanashiwa and also crops are destroyed by domestic (Livestock e.g. goats and cattle) animals. The low level of production is also attributed by the fact that some San people's poor health does not allow them to work in the fields.

The hunger and poverty in Oshana are a result of multiple factors as mentioned above. The participants were adamant to the thinking that most of their peers are sick since they do not have enough food to eat and only consume alcohol (tombo). This response from a youth participant incorporates most of what I have mentioned.

“San people are dying a lot. Dying, dying, and dying from being poor. We don’t have even a car at the centre for assisting us when we get sick to take us to the hospital fast. Now, we just come to Okongo and drink tombo. People get sick but nothing is going to happen like in this hospital of Okongo, there are three San people that are dead because of hunger and we are being told it is tombo. When we go to the hospital, we are told it is tombo, but we do not have a choice. When we get food occasionally, it is not enough. Just a little piece. And we have families to feed. We need the government to look at these things and try to assist us. We are pleading very much to the government”.

When the government of Namibia took over San people’s farms from the missionaries in Okongo constituency, it used to give San people free food via programmes such as drought and emergency food relief. A dependency syndrome grew and was never sustainable as the country also went through economic crisis and inflation.

According to Magadza and Akpabio (2020), the data acquired from Emergency Management Unit (EMU) shows that the population of San people ranging between 17 000 and 22 000 in the country (Namibia) depends on the Namibian government food aid. At the same time, “the government has directed that the San should be supported indefinitely by food-for-work programmes and other welfare schemes (Suzman, 2001, p. 7).

In addition, the link between health and hunger cannot go unobserved. The participants indicated that the lack of food in Oshanashiwa resulted in some community members falling sick and some eventually dying. When there is poor food production (this is mostly the case in Oshana) or insufficient income to buy sufficient food needed by a household (also, something common with San people), hunger and health will persist (World Food Programme, 2007).

The book on hunger and poverty, World Food Programme (WFP) (2007), highlighted the relationship between hunger, undernutrition and food security. It stated that people affected by food insecurity are not well represented politically at decision-making levels where economic choices, budget allocations, and other social services decisions are made (WFP, 2007). “People who suffer from hunger in any of its forms are not the decision-makers, nor are they necessarily well represented by them” (WFP, 2007, p. 12). In this statement, we see again the cross-cutting

nature of the issues affecting the San people. The above statement demonstrates the political responsibilities linked to food security. This shows the importance of political will demonstrated by government. There is a need for political leaders to commit firstly to including persons from all demographical and geographical settings in making inclusive decisions to benefit the country and secondly, in the absence of inclusivity, to be able to make decisions addressing the different needs of society. It was further stressed that “the interwoven causes of hunger and poor health are deeply rooted in social, economic and political conditions” (WFP, 2007, p.19).

Returning to hunger and health, WFP (2007, p.12) moreover detailed that “undernutrition leads to a state of poor health that puts the individual at risk of infectious and chronic diseases”. Suzman (2011) mentioned that San people are prone to diseases and chronic illnesses such as TB and HIV/AIDS. Without discounting other contributing factors to these diseases, hunger plays a huge role in determining their severity. To begin with, if a person does not get enough food, even if the person goes to the hospital, the medication will not be effective if there is no proper intake of food. Also, without proper intake of food, opportunistic infectious viruses will attack such individuals.

If we look at the responses from the participants, we can see how the relationship between hunger and health is playing out in Oshana. They have mentioned the lack of food at the farm multiple times and how San people end up being hospitalised because of this. Participants also indicated how some of their community members die silently in their houses where they have been suffering from illnesses and at the same time, they have nothing to eat. Semba and Delange (2001) alluded to the fact that various models have recommended that better health is a result of improved diet and nutrition. This community not only lacks food, it is safe to assume that the food available does not have proper or enough nutrients.

An ailing community is not a productive community. When there are many sick people, no kind of work could be performed by such a community. And this inevitably is the situation in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm currently.

5.2.2 Power Dynamics: Discrimination, abuse and exploitation

More thematic outcomes from this research elicited by the participants, especially from the youth, are discrimination and abuse. These conditions are a result of power dynamics between

individuals and the exercise of such power. Luke (2005) talks of how power play manipulates and oppresses those that do not possess it. Pragmatically, the way power has been used by non-San people to discriminate, abuse and exploit San people is of great concern. These concepts are inter-connected and, in most cases, when one is present, the others follow because of social classification.

In the preceding chapter, I adopted the definition of discrimination as stereotyping and the inability to give a person some concern, respect, and consideration (Macklem, 2000). Deriving from the research results, we see components of this concept of discrimination playing a major role when it comes to service delivery, access to resources and even the daily interaction of San people and non-San people. Discrimination of San people is rooted in oppression and power. San people lived a nomadic life; thus, they did not have permanent homes. When Namibia gained independence in 1990 and modernisation gradually occurred, San people were inevitable forced by the system to adapt to the ways the country sees as normal. However, this approach did not come with a manual on how San people can navigate being no longer nomadic. In chapter 2, there is a reference to the fact that San people were never accorded formal education during apartheid in comparison to other tribes. Therefore, without contextual education, education that gives meaning to the situations people are living in, there is no socio-economic justice for San People. Namibia has adapted a free and mixed economic society, and as such, there is not much benefit from that system, and hence, it is safe to say that San people are left behind economically.

Building on to the above argument, the discrimination started when other ethnic groups were empowered to survive and adapt to the changes in the country, leaving San people behind. Eventually, as the government tried to integrate San people into mainstream education, other tribes have progressed in economic and education spheres and the same tribes do not think of San people as human; this view is supported by the usage of words such as “eetaxwe” and “aakwanghala”. When the humanity of a person is not fully recognised, it means they do not deserve proper treatment and their human rights are not fundamentally respected. This results in all forms of discrimination as highlighted in chapter 4.

Abuse, on the other hand, is a broad term. There are different types of abuse but I will only highlight one that emerged from the research findings and this is sexual abuse. When it comes to sexual abuse, the participants have not shied away from narrating ordeals of how non-San

people invade the space of San young women and rape them. Two statements that stood out and explicitly describes the nature of sexual abuse are as follow:

“Sometimes when it is late, we sleep in Okongo. There are times when you are asleep, and you just see there is a person in your room. Then they tell you, you are a kwanghala, you are nothing and nobody will believe you if you say anything. Then they proceed to do whatever they want. And sometimes we do not know who they are because it is dark”.

“One particular night, there were screams coming from far at night. A lady saying “help, help, help” and it was in the middle of the night. The following day somebody was telling us what happened. It turned out that, this man (non-San) found the young lady walking home from the cuca shops and he just picked her up. Carrying her over his shoulder and took her to his shack. And nobody helped her”.

Sexual abuse of the San women from Oshanashiwa is a concern. Namibia as a country has a high level of sexual violence perpetuated against women and girls. This can be backed up by a report from the New Era newspaper stating that about 5 961 gender based violence cases were opened between September 2019 to September 2020 (Amakali, 2021). This violation of human dignity by men has degraded the progress of women and girls from all corners of the country. Even women with education and powerful positions in the country are subjected to gender-based violence. Therefore, San women and girls who are already marginalised and oppressed are even more vulnerable to such crimes. San people, with the discrimination already described, tend not to report the cases nor seek medical attention. This results in health complications (contracting STIs), which leads to lack of productivity, reduced livelihood strategies (that are already limited) and ultimately succumbing to the illness and death.

Another major power card San people face is exploitation. According to Tomaskovic-Devey and Avent-Holt (2019, p.107) *“exploitation is a relationship in which one party uses power to gain at the expense of another. Exploitation happens through a claims-making process. Legal and cultural institutions steer which groups are exploited and block or facilitate exploitation. Exploitation can be naked and open for all to see; more often exploitation is institutionalized, taken for granted, and legitimated even by those being exploited.”*

San people indicated that they have to work for less pay or no pay at all. There are various ways to look at this perspective. I chose to define this issue as exploitation. Non-San people, in this case Kwanyama-speaking people, have used San people for cheap labour for a long time. In the assessment conducted by Suzmann (2011), San people work for kwanyama people

and get paid in tombo. As mentioned previously, tombo has not brought any positive benefits to San people, it has mostly negatively affected their health. This is also linked to the issue of battering. San people are willing to work in exchange for receiving free tombo. Tombo is cheap and affordable. Thus, it is easier for people to pay San people with this drink.

There are young people who specified that they worked at certain shops and were not paid. These youth participants highlighted that they were promised N\$250.00; however, they received no payment after months of working. Furthermore, there are those that sell their products at lower prices because that is what the client can 'afford'. This concrete tactic that non-San people in Okongo can use San people and not pay them or make San people sell products at a highly reduced price, knowing that they have no power to negotiate or refuse, is exploitation.

5.3 Section 2: Education

As mentioned earlier, the education aspect of this research will focus on the formal, nonformal and informal education system that San people are exposed to and have knowledge of and how it has contributed to their livelihoods and it will also look at what role education has played to shape their livelihoods. Thus, this research has looked at indigenous education and modern education as it tries to provide a holistic approach to understanding education's role in livelihood approaches. The role and function of education is regulated by societal and natural conditions (Turkkahraman, 2012). Therefore, context is imperative in analysing how education works and its effects.

Ultimately, education holds the key to emancipation in many critical social development areas and influences decision-making. According to Busse, Lischewski and Seeber (2019), "*people with a higher educational level are more involved in politics, participate more intensively and exercise their democratic rights better and more comprehensively than do individuals with lower-level school degrees*" (p.5). This statement is made in reference to formal education. However, in the same report, Busse, Lischewski and Seeber (2019) emphasised that adult education can increase political participation and economic emancipation but mostly by adults with higher socio-economic status than those that are disadvantaged. In the following

segments, we look at these perspectives in relation to San people from the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm.

5.3.1 Informal education

Looking at the results from the research, the participants agreed that all types of education are crucial.

“Education is important. The education from our parents is the one that led us to go to school. Our parents’ education is more important. This type of education gave us knowledge and realisation that we need more knowledge from formal education from school” declared one participant.

In this statement, there is the realisation of the importance of informal education. Informal education is defined in preceding chapters as the education that people gain from engaging with other people on a daily basis (Cameron & Harrison, 2012). The response is therefore alluding to the fact that informal education is of primary importance. In reference to the above statement, this older participant highlighted that they were exposed to informal education prior to formal education. There is also a component of parental wisdom this participant has expressed and this view was echoed by other participants (old and young) sharing the same sentiment regarding informal education.

Parents played and still play vital roles in the lives of their children. This is attested by the following responses.

“They taught us how to sing and dance cultural things. And going into the bush to look for food such as roots, fruits and hunting animals.”

“Our mothers taught us how to make harvest and extract food from trees (omanghete). These were our foods before we moved to food eaten by Oshiwambo people. We used to go in the bushes with our parents and look for wild berries and roots.”

This could also be an indication that the majority of older San people joined formal education at a later stage in their lives; hence they could not even complete lower primary education. This is evident as there is no research about formal education and San people that is well documented before Namibia’s independence. Therefore, the majority of San people survived on informal knowledge which is indigenous knowledge most of their lives. Through intergenerational

activities, informal education contributes enormously to the livelihood strategies of San people. The challenges with these types of livelihood strategies is the current accessibility and availability of those strategies such as hunting, gathering of wild fruits and even medication. The drawbacks are a result of change in laws (systems) and also caused by climate change.

5.3.2 Non-formal education

San people, like many other disadvantaged communities within the development sphere, have been subjected to various development initiatives and these comprised of projects that were meant to improve livelihoods and strengthen food securities. In the preceding chapters, we learnt of different interventions such as agricultural projects, vocational skills training just to mention few. In many of these, non-formal education training was given.

San people were sent to vocational training centres and some San people attended short courses to improve the standards of artisan products they create or took part in adult education literacy classes.

From the findings, those that attended short courses at the resettlement farms managed to finish the training. This can be due to the fact that participants in these programmes did not need to go anywhere. These training were offered at the resettlement farm. One older participant that was part of this training explained that *“You see, I was also taught how to make knives like the one I am holding now. I am going to sell it, but not at the price I want. I do not have a choice”*. Knives are made through blacksmithing. According to one respondent, they were taught most of such skills (wood carving and blacksmithing) by their fathers. Here, we are seeing the interconnection between informal and non-formal education and learning. Knowledge passed on from generation to generation is strengthened by systems which enable the products to be worthy of purchase in the open market.

The value added to the design and quality of existing products accentuates how that certain initiatives have tried to improve the standard of living within San community through intensifying good products to be sold at better prices. Whilst this might have been the case during that particular project, things are now different. Looking at the quote above, the participant indicated that the correct price of the product is not attainable. The participant does not seem to have the bargaining power to refuse whatever amount is offered. One could say this is exploitation and further oppression of the San people. Of course, Namibia is going

through an economic crisis, and most people are barely surviving to cope with the many demands of the globalised world economy. As a livelihood strategy, selling products at a significant lower price is not sustainable as this money is used mostly to buy tombo.

“I make baskets either with beads or palm leaves, and sometimes I use plastics. When I finish, I come here to Okongo and sell it. The problem is just that when we give a price, the people do not want to give us the whole amount. But because we do not have anything, we just take what they are offering”

This statement sums up this conversation about prices and the power San people have or do not have regarding negotiating for reasonable prices of their products. San people spend a substantial amount of time making these products, whether it is knives, wooden mortar and pestles, baskets, or beads. For them to accept whatever price is offered is an injustice. And unfortunately, there are no systems in place that could prevent this type of exploitation because there is no formalised trading system for the San. Until then, those San in Oshanashiwa will continue to trade their products at a considerable loss.

Only a few completed their course from those that were sent to the vocational training. Some San people seem to have a certain explanation for not completing educational programmes, be it a training course or formal schooling. *“I was one of the chosen people. I went to Eenhana to study how to build, but I did not complete”* and *“the car left me behind when we were returning to the training”*. This was one of the explanations given by the participant who was part of the chosen group to go for vocational training. We have also learnt from the results chapter about the participant who dropped out because he missed his family. These could be seen as excuses of indolence by other community members. However, this could be a result of intergenerational knowledge shared amongst San people.

By intergenerational knowledge in this context, I mean that San people are used to staying together, moving together, and sharing resources. There could be a sense of loneliness, isolation, and longing when they are far from their families and community. Perhaps the later reason about missing the family is more accurate under these circumstances.

Unfortunately, incomplete training rarely contributes to livelihood strategies. Especially, in Namibia where firstly, the unemployment rate is high and secondly, opportunities are hard to find even by those who have graduated from higher institutions. For San people, it is even worse. Their socio-economic status is already at the bottom of the ladder unless they are being used for cheap labour.

5.3.3 Formal education

From the study and its results, it appears that formal education is the most under-utilized type of education in the lives of San people in Oshanashiwa at the moment. Formal education is widely accessible and available in Namibia and where there is unavailability, systems are put in place to accommodate pupils, especially from the poor and marginalised communities. Formal education is the least effective form of education in respect of its contribution to the livelihood strategies for San people at the moment. According to Hays (2011), across Southern Africa, the participation of San communities in formal education systems is the lowest compared to other communities. Hays (2011) further highlighted some eco-systemic factors contributing to this reality and these are:

“poverty, social stigmatisation, abusive and otherwise unfriendly school and hostel environments, the problems associated with learning in a foreign language and culture, a relative lack of examples of successful San students, and the lack of correspondence between formal education and real economic opportunity in the areas where San are living” (p.128-129).

The results of this study showed firstly that the majority of San people, specifically the participants from the older group, did not complete lower primary education. Most participants in the younger group did complete primary school though they did not proceed to the secondary level. This is a similar finding to that of Mouton and Dirkx (2014) assessment of San people in the Ohangwena Region. Their findings on education were as follows:

“Of all the San adults who attended the discussions in five of the six sites, and their children, 43% had never attended school and 57% had attended school at some stage. This reflects a much worse situation than the regional statistics reflect, i.e 11% of all adults in Ohangwena had never attended any school but 70% had completed some form of education. What is also worrying is that the !Xun and Hai||om who attended school had dropped out prematurely. Of the discussion participants who had attended school, the majority (81%) had dropped out before completing primary school, and the remaining 19% had dropped out in Grade 8. It appears that most members of the younger generation of !Xun and Hai||om (those aged 28 years or younger) completed

primary school and commenced with secondary school, but dropped out in Grade 8, whereas the older people had dropped out before reaching Grade 7”.

From the same report by Mouton and Dirkx, another fact was confirmed in respect of San people from the Ohangwena region at tertiary education level. These researchers found that:

Apart from a !Xun man who became a teacher at Ekoka, a female student at UNAM and a young man from Oshanashiwa Resettlement Project who obtained an administrative qualification at Valombola Vocational Training Centre in Ondangwa, none of the !Xun or Hai||om at the Ohangwena research sites had attended any tertiary education/training institution – the main reason being that none of them had successfully completed secondary school” (Mouton & Dirkx, 2014, p.261)

Therefore, it should be seen as a matter of huge concern that after 30 years of independence, Namibia still has a population of certain ethnic groups that are not progressing in the mainstream educational system. Moreover, some of these groups are still marginalised, oppressed, discriminated against, exploited, abused, uneducated and suffering from most of the social ills currently present in the country.

Hays raised various issues consistent with responses from the study’s participants as to why the San learners drop out of school.

“Education is good, (it) is just the treatment. There is also discrimination against San scholars”. This statement was made by one of the San youth that recently dropped out of school. The participant continued asserting that *“they keep referring to us as “Kwanghalas”. Teachers should be calling us learners just like other learners. They should not be saying “you kwanghala did this or that”. No, no, no”.* Another response worth flagging is the comment *“when I went back to school I was asked by a teacher “ano eetaxwe oda aluka natango?”* literally meaning *“So, eetaxwe are back again?”* used as a rhetorical question. Though rhetorically uttered, this statement can be construed subjectively especially by San people who are aware of the subliminal discriminatory tone attached to it.

Hays (2011) highlighted social stigmatisation, abuse, and unfriendliness at schools as factors preventing San children from progressing at schools, showing that this kind of treatment leads them to drop out. Moreover, discrimination is intrinsic to the factors already mentioned. The treatment of San people as a different species (eetaxwe which is a word associated with

animals), removes the humanity and its associate components from San people and promotes the labelling of San people as “others” or worse as “things”. As referred to in the data presentation chapter, the term “Other” is adapted from Staszak (2008) when he referred to it as “member of a dominated out-group, whose identity is considered lacking and who may be subjected to discrimination” (p.1). Thus, it is attitudes and behaviour like this that form toxic environments and discrimination which affect the San children’s decisions on whether to return to mainstream education or not. On the same point, when teachers are vocally and audibly mistreat San learners, other learners replicate such attitudes towards San learners, making it harder for San learners to blend in and learn within a safe space. Given this context, it is hardly surprising that the drop-out rate of San learners in Oshanashiwa is 100% before grade 10. Therefore, San children dropping out of the formal education system does not come as a surprise as one of the findings from this research. Hays (2011) demonstrated that there is an extremely high rate of school dropout amongst San children even at other villages in Namibia. The majority of issues affecting San people, including education, are hardly reported. Magadza and Akpabio (2020) conducted research to see how media houses in Namibia cover stories of San people. With reference to education, the following was observed:

“The glaring weakness of most articles on education is their context or situation. The articles tend to dwell on San children in Windhoek and other accessible places; choosing to pick single successful stories of individual San children and leaving behind a preponderant majority in remote areas to whom education itself remains a luxury. This shows a great lack of serious and detailed research because real problems are faced by children in remote and largely inaccessible areas where poverty is hampering implementation of the people’s right to education” (Magadza & Akpabio, p.146).

As we have seen from chapter 4, San people have a very low level of formal education. Most livelihood strategies in Namibia require some sort of formal education or a recognised skill set. Most San people in Oshanashiwa have neither and thus livelihood strategies are limited. Therefore, formal education plays lesser significant role in the outcome of the strategies San people in Oshanashiwa use to attain their livelihoods at the current moment. The implications attached to this inference are massive and will determine the future of San people in Oshanashiwa and most likely those San people in similar setting.

5.4 Section 3: Livelihood Framework perspective

In chapter one and two, I discussed an assessment that was conducted in 2014 which depicted the situation of San people in Namibia. This same assessment has elements of livelihood strategies employed by San people in different parts of the country. One thing that is clear is that the livelihood strategies of San people are uniform and do not differ by region. .

Before colonialism, hunting and gathering was the main livelihood strategy for San people in Namibia (Kiaka, Dieckmann & Dirkx, 2014). This has been the case for hundreds of years so that San communities suffered a heavy blow when they were prevented from having access to natural resources during the colonial era and when Bantu-speaking people migrated to Namibia because of land dispossession.

During the colonial era, livelihood strategies were adjusted. Some San people were employed as farm workers, some relied on handouts from neighbouring ethnic groups, a small group continued to hunt in protected areas and few were given homesteads in Bushmanland (Kiaka, Dieckmann & Dirkx, 2014), as mentioned previously.

After independence in 1990, unfortunately the circumstances led to more adjustments to the livelihood strategies of San people in Namibia. A significant number of San were let go from their employment as farm workers, and consequentially needed to look for other livelihood strategies alternatives. This included moving to different areas in the country, which led some to communal land areas and eventually to resettlement farms (Kiaka, Dieckmann & Dirkx, 2014).

Kiaka, Dieckmann and Dirkx (2014) listed the livelihood strategies mostly followed by the San people in Namibia. These are: pensions and social welfare grants, food aid, casual work and piecework, employment, gathering veld food and hunting, subsistence crop farming, livestock farming, small businesses and trade-based income-generating activities, sale of natural products, sales of crafts and other tourism-related activities. .

Most, if not all of the livelihood strategies mentioned by participants from Oshanashiwa come under the above list. Pensions and social grants form the most consistent income strategy. The other strategies are subjected to availability, accessibility, and climate change. Because of the conditions attached attaining the livelihood strategies, numerous of these are practised at a lower scale, which leaves a little to no room for greater livelihood outcome impact. This situation has driven the San people into to further oppression and marginalisation, and living

as dependents. There should be no discussions about San people now having a dependency syndrome without addressing their livelihood strategies and the role communities and specifically the government played in preparing them to adapt to changes that come with modernisation.

There are livelihood strategies where education is not a prerequisite however, because of complex regulations and systems in Namibia, one needs to know how these systems work in order to benefit from them. For example with trading, one needs access to the market or business registration. San people can make jewellery and craft products, but producing and selling them at the country and global level requires expertise. For San people in Oshanaishiwa, this expertise is lacking, meaning, those livelihoods that depend on those strategies are unavailable or impractical. Thus, institutions need to play a bigger role in facilitating market access for San people. With supportive systems in place, regardless of the level of education or the type of education received, San people stand a chance of diversifying their livelihoods. There are San people benefiting from this type of arrangement with Omba Arts Trust in different parts of Namibia include few from Ekokka Resettlement Farm, and this type of arrangement subject to availability of resources can be scaled up and presents an opportunity to diversify livelihood strategies for San people in Oshanaishiwa.

5.4.1 Indigenous knowledge: Its contribution towards the livelihood strategies of San people

There is vast amount of learning and knowledge from those that came before us. This is no different with San people. From the literature chapter, we learnt that indigenous knowledge is a reflection of different ways *“in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organise that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives”* (Semali and Kincheloe, 1999, p. 3). Meanwhile, indigenous education is described as *“a natural process embedded in everyday life and its activities”*(Seroto, 2011, p.77). According to the Ombudsman report on indigenous people, the classification of a group to be indigenous is a result of *“their cultures and ways of life differ considerably from the dominant society and their cultures are under threat, in some cases to the extent of extinction* (Ombudsman Report, 2014, p.6). Thus, San people are classified as such.

The responses of the participants indicate that indigenous knowledge was, and to some extent still is, a contributing factor to few livelihood strategies of San people.

“Our mothers taught us how to harvest and extract food from different fruit trees. These were our foods before we moved to food eaten by Oshiwambo people. We used to go in the bushes with our parents and look for wild berries and roots”.

“They taught us how to sing and dance cultural things. And going into the bush to look for food such as roots, fruits, and hunting animals”.

These statements resonate with participants from both the older and the young groups. There was a sense of pride when the participants were discussing this aspect of taught knowledge. One participant from the older group reminisced about how she used to go in the forest with her mother to collect different types of food and how that is no longer possible.

“We belong in the bush. I will have to say that the people did ok to bring us to civilization but the places where we should have been getting our livelihood are now taken by other people and became farming areas for non-San people”

“San people that get pension assist families. That little money is shared with many people in this community”

According to Dieckmann (2007), the living conditions of the San people in Namibia have continued to deteriorate over the years and, with little access to formal employment, most San people rely heavily on social networks to re-distribute scarce resources to survive.

Unfortunately, options for hunting and gathering are not readily available in the country, some places more limiting than others, and on top of that, many areas with veld-food resources have been destroyed by long term overgrazing (Dieckmann, 2007).

5.4.2 Subsistence farming and gardening

As part of communal land, the community in Oshanashiwa resettlement farm practise subsistence farming. Already mentioned in Chapter one, one of the core reasons for the resettlement farms was to intensify food security for San people through agricultural activities. San people in Oshanashiwa have been practising subsistence farms and indicated that they have a garden for producing vegetables.

While using the SWOT analysis, participants specified that they have a borehole in the resettlement farm that provides them with water during the study period. It was also mentioned that this borehole is an opportunity for them when involved in vegetable gardening. Participants started a garden in Oshanashiwa but that has not been operational since the project that initiated it ended. Here, it is crucial to draw attention to the concept of post-development theory and the impact of conventional development. This will be further considered later in this chapter.

Though subsistence farming should have been the practice, participants raised some of the challenges related to social, environmental, and economic factors. The following response highlights some of these factors.

“Now that some of us, our health is compromised, we cannot afford to pay someone to plough for us and we do not have the energy to plough with a hoe, we end up not doing anything. Then we just wait for the government to give us food when they can”

The intersectionality of issues affecting the San vividly emerge from this answer. To briefly recap, ‘intersectional’ in this research refers to a concept that explains the multiplicity of socially constructed differences (Mojab & Carpenter, 2019). It is furthermore seen as an approach on “how should we understand the organization of human life along lines of race, gender, sexuality, class, ability, and so forth, and how should our political projects respond to this reality (Mojab & Carpenter, 2019, p.276). Looking at the responses above and below from participants on health, (money, and dependency on government handouts all contribute towards the lack of productivity of subsistence farming.

In the past the resettlement farms in Okongo constituency had tractors to plough San people’s fields with assistance from the government. Hence, some San people were taught how to drive tractors and how to plough with a tractor. However, according to the participants, the tractors are not being used anymore; therefore, some community members are unable to cultivate their fields. As indicated also by the participants, subsistence farming in Oshanashiwa is compromised by the health of the San and in situations where health is not a concern, they do not have money to pay someone else to plough. Ploughing season needs to be well targeted. If one misses the time for ploughing, then there is a possibility of a low yield or no harvest at all. Therefore, having a functional and operational tractor was and is a necessity for the San community.

“Tate Gideon taught some of us how to drive a tractor. We used it to plough our rain-fed fields. This use to help us a lot during the rainy season as we plough fast before the rain is over”.

5.4.3 Institutional Subjugation of San people

In a research conducted by Vergara and Barton (2013,) on the poverty and dependency on rural livelihoods in Chile, they argued that: *“state is unprepared to meet rights and development demands by indigenous peoples, since the design of the state is to meet more homogenous societal needs that reflect little diversity”* (Vergara & Barton, 2013, n.p). Is the government of Namibia ready to address the specific issues of indigenous people in this case of the San people? In a recent interview, the governor of the Ohangwena Region declared, when addressing San people, *“that thing of you depending on handouts from other people should come to an end or you being at the cuca shops and doing odd jobs for money should stop”* (Ndeyanale, 2021).

Indeed, that is an interesting statement/observation from a political leader (The governor of Ohangwena Region) and perhaps the address was not purely irrelevant nor out of context. The issue is more on appropriateness. Was the statement contextually appropriate? One of the participants in this study stated: *“We sometimes get paid tombo after we clean, rake, fetch water or get send to the stores”*. The difference between the two statements is that the governor’s sentiment sounds as though San people have a choice and chose to live the way they are living. This is a common perception and it contributes to further oppression and exploitation of this marginalised group.

These statements made from two different geographical settings, namely Chile and Namibia, have one thing in common, which is the assimilation of cultures influenced by societies with hegemonic powers. San people from Oshanashiwa indicated that the institutions do not favour them in terms of service provision or employment opportunities. The youth referred to this implying that they get discriminated against when private companies or government departments are recruiting for positions that the San are also qualified to occupy such as Cleaners or Security Officers.

In terms of service delivery, the complaint that emerged from the study is that of poor service. Some participants decried the mistreatment they receive at public institutions to an extent that they do not go seek for such service anymore. This happened with majority of the young San

people in respect to education. They have dropped out of school as mentioned earlier, reasoning that teachers and other learners mistreat them.

The loopholes in various management and social systems have enormous ripple effects, as shown in the quotation below from one participant.

“Because most of the elderly and some youth cannot read, write, or even sign, Ovawambo people get pension on behalf of San people and take a big proportion of the money comparing to the money given to the owner. Pensioners are really suffering, even the orphans and vulnerable children. It seems like the person getting money of behalf of the children will use the money for their own children, buying them clothes and give hand-me downs to San children”

Finally, government institutions are crucial to the provision of public services, more so to community members who cannot afford private services because of lack of funds. When people who feel powerless are mistreated, their reaction is usually to stop going or seeking services. As a result, some San drop out of school, do not report crimes and stop going to the hospital until it is too late to get proper and adequate assistance.

5.5 Section 4: Education and development theories’ analysis

5.5.1 Post-colonial Theory

Post-colonial theory, according to Parsons and Harding (2011), was designed to search for justice. This search for justice is a component that emerged from the effects of colonialism. That is, to seek justice from the exploitation, enslavement and violence experienced under colonialism (Parson and Harding, 2011). One of the overall goals of post-colonial theory is to return and rehabilitate the fundamental power that the colonial era took from the marginalised (Parsons and Harding, 2011). Finally, the theory also "identifies the complicated process of establishing an identity that is both different from, yet influenced by, the colonist who has left" (Parsons and Harding, 2011. p.2). In terms of education, post-colonial theory takes cognisance of local knowledge such as indigenous knowledge systems and the importance of local languages (Young, 2000).

This theory resonates with the San and their history including their current situation. They are not yet free. This realisation comes from the fact that they are still called indigenous,

vulnerable, and marginalised. Being labelled as marginalised and vulnerable indicates that there are aspects of standard living conditions missing and that are institutionally and systematically recognized. The plight of the San people is known by government, public and private sectors, and even international bodies. One would think that because the predicament of the San people is widely known, even with international instruments developed by United Nations such as the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), attention would be paid to them. However, for the Oshanashiwa participants, the quest for justice is still a dream.

The colonisation of San people has not ended. It has shifted from the way Namibia was colonised in the past to a more localized, equally insidious type of colonialism that is socially cross-cutting and damaging for San people. Looking at the socio-ecological factors, there are significant issues that require multi-sectoral and institutional approaches to understand and to address in order to realise justice for the San, This concept of justice includes economic, social, environmental, political, cultural, and health aspects.

In addition, post-colonial theory talks about the importance of language and indigenous knowledge. San people fortunately use their language and majority of the children can speak the language as well. However, there are few schools in Namibia where San languages are taught and none of those schools are in the Ohangwena Region. This means that the children are taught in English and Oshikwanyama.

The fact that none of the participants from the study completed secondary school is an indication that mainstream jobs will not be an option for the participants as part of their livelihood strategies in the foreseeable future. To put this in context, mainstream jobs mostly require a person to possess a university degree, and a university admission requires one to either have a grade 12 or 'relevant' experience, meaning if these participants have not finished secondary schooling, then they are excluded from this stream of acquiring jobs and sadly, that is a case with most San people in Oshanashiwa.

5.5.2 Post-development theory's influence on livelihood approaches

Post-development theory unlike other development theories, took on a different approach when it comes to development as it was previously understood and rejected the notion of

development in its entirety. This is shared by various scholars such as Matthews (2004), who emphasises and elaborated that:

“the negative consequences which have been observed to result from development are intrinsic to development, rather than being unintentional side-effects of it. Thus, the problem, from the perspective of post-development theorists, is not that the project of development was poorly implemented and that it is necessary to find a better way to bring it about, but that the assumptions and ideas that are core to development are problematic, and so improved implementation is not the answer”

While Berg (2007) stated that the way forward is to reject development instead of reforming it or changing implementation strategies because the concept of development is flawed.

For San people, education and schooling was a development initiative, same as all other tribes in Namibia. One participant stated that they were moved from Omundaungilo and relocated to Okongo to be taught Christianity and receive education. There was no consultation in this process or an assessment of what the San might have preferred as part of their development. Relocation of the San and bringing development to them was a decision made without consultation with the San themselves and reflects cultural western hegemonic discourse with the aim to create a homogeneous society in Namibia. Unfortunately, the development that was envisaged for the San, which included preventing a nomadic lifestyle, has not yielded positive results in Oshanashiwa.

In terms of livelihood strategies, and based on the responses given by the participants, the development initiatives introduced to the San only worked during the implementation phase of such projects. However, when these projects ceased, they seem not to be sustainable. Either the sustainability plan for continuity was not thought of or the San were not interested in the project from the beginning; this speaks to the design and the involvement of San communities from the outset. One can draw an inference from this by considering the role power dynamics and political influence play when new projects are being initiated, especially those projects targeting vulnerable and marginalised groups. Therefore, the lack of participation at different leadership and decision-making levels for San people has negative consequences, such as officials and others making decisions on behalf of the San, including the type of development that suited them.

Post-development theory has its own set-backs as discussed in chapter two. However, there are lessons from this theory that shed a light on how the way development is conducted can be a

threat to development and in such also warning about the use of conventional development approaches. For San people, development projects are something that come and go, and every time they go, more gaps are created in terms of livelihood strategies. This leads to more room for vulnerability and socio-economic adversities to affect the lives of San people, destabilising the little efforts and hopes they had. It leaves the lost to navigate this ever-changing globalised world by themselves which has led to the eco-systemic factors described above.

5.5.3 Influence of Intergenerational Education on livelihoods

Based on the research findings, the aspect of intergenerational education of the study is somehow limited to common practises carried out within the wider community of non-San people. The knowledge possessed by the elderlies and those that are long gone in the San community is rapidly disappearing. The younger generation is brought up in this modern new era and the older generation went through so many transitions geographically and socially. From the data, it was mentioned how San people were moved from different places, and also how they received programs from various providers. Most of the old ways of doing things are diluted or linked to the Ovawambo traditions. From the research, things such as pounding, cooking, fetching water and woods which the younger generation was taught to practise are typical chores in communal settings of Namibia. The gathering of wild fruits is also a cross-cutting activity between different tribes. Practises such as hunting are prohibited by law thus young people are not taught how to hunt anymore. Another point was raised regarding herbs for healing, however, a participant mentioned that vast land has been fenced off, making it difficult for them to look for different herbs for remedy hence the knowledge of what type of herbs to use is slowly getting lost.

Against this background, there is a need to create or establish a knowledge hub for San people where they can get exposed in understanding their culture and traditions. San people in Oshanashiwa do not have unique skills that can be construed as organically San people's indigenous knowledge anymore. Nevertheless, San women and men are talented in artisan skills.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter interpreted the research results and findings from chapter 4 against the literature provided in chapter 2. It also provided contributory answers towards the main research question of the study which asked; How are the intergenerational livelihood strategies of San People in Oshanashiwa Resettlement Farm affected by education? In addition, this chapter gave holistic insights towards the objectives of the study through a participatory critical analysis, which has brought in aspects of San people that would not have been overlooked would have I used a different methodological design. In the following chapter, I will present the research summary, including the key findings, recommendations, limitations, and overall conclusions.

6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter provided a comprehensive interpretation of the research data and considered the content discussed in chapters one to four in a consolidated manner. Therefore, chapter six which is my final and concluding chapter will summarise the study and make recommendations arising from the study findings. This chapter will also give an overview of the study by summarising each chapter. Research conclusions are made in relation to objectives and research question of the study and general conclusions are outlined. Limitations of the study are also presented.

6.2 Summary of the Study

This section will summarise the first five chapters of this study. I will highlight the main ideas emerging from each chapter and give its focus.

Looking back to chapter one, I started by providing a description of my study location. It is imperative to understand the context both from the socio-economic and geographical setting as these played a crucial role in shaping the ecosystemic context and milieu of the study. The chapter gave a brief historical context of this group of San people and how they ended up living in Oshanashiwa. In addition, the chapter highlighted the motivation and significance of the study, which reveals the limited research conducted on the role education plays in the livelihood of San people and the understanding of this topic from the San people's perspective. I also explained my own interest in conducting this research and my motivation for undertaking this study. In addition, chapter one introduced the objectives of the study, the main research question including the questions that have guided the research, and the methodological approach.

Chapter two looked at the existing literature and theoretical framework to the study. It commenced by elaborating different conceptual frameworks relating to the study. Thus, it defined terminologies such as education and livelihood and the stance of the study within these

concepts. A wide-ranging literature review was given, stressing various aspects of education, livelihoods, and power dynamics. The theoretical frameworks used in the study derived from relevant development theories were post-colonial theory and post-development theory as they are uniquely suited to address the damage caused by social injustice. The other two critical theoretical frameworks for the study were those of education and livelihood., The chapter also looked at issues of climate change and agriculture, the concepts of intergeneration and indigenous knowledge as well as social intersectional factors. Finally, this chapter set out the existing knowledge of the role education plays in the livelihood strategies of San people, albeit it in a limited way.

The research methodology and design were tackled in chapter 3. As a critical study, this research took in an unusual approach to research design and methodology owing to the nature of the subject under review and the unconventional situation in which the San respondents live. This chapter provided information on the research paradigm, research setting, the research design and method. I gave a preview of different research paradigms and reasons for my choice to embed this study within a critical paradigm I believe that critical theory provides space for further exploration and questioning of social context. I see is a degree of transformation and social change linked to this paradigm and also provision for policy influence. The sampling and methodological approach were covered in this chapter. I chose purposive sampling to ensure that the sample represents participants from different generations as the research aimed to gain an intergenerational perspective and understanding of San people. The data collection was conducted in the form of focus group discussions with 4 different groups (2 for young people and 2 for old people) and one community discussion with a mixed group of both young and old. Thus, this was qualitative research carried out through participatory engagement using participatory inquiry.

The data of the study were presented and analysed in chapter 4. This chapter provided raw data of the study which were thematically grouped around the research questions. This chapter demonstrated the sensitive nature of the study as it has provided sincere and open responses from the participants. The chapter also revealed the factors that are contributing and have contributed to the current socio-economic livelihood status of San people as stated by the participants themselves. These factors include various livelihood strategies currently being employed. In addition, tools such as a SWOT analysis and eco-model were used for further data analysis. Responses to the effect different types of education (formal, non-formal and informal) have on livelihood strategies were also displayed. The different learnings obtained

through these educational systems were also presented and it seemed that informal learning was the more advantageous for livelihood strategies. Finally, the chapter discussed the issues of intersectionality, hegemony and intergenerational gains and losses where San people's livelihood and education are concerned.

Chapter 5 then focused on the data interpretation in response to the literature of the study and theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. This chapter played a crucial role in bringing meaning to the data under study. The chapter gave an understanding to the findings while it also offered interpretations of the analysis made in chapter four. Finally, this chapter gave answers to the guiding questions and ultimately answered the main research question of the study. This chapter systematically interpreted the study findings which were categorised in four sections, namely: Eco-systemic Factors, Education, Livelihood Framework Perspective, and an Analysis of Development Theories.

6.3 Summary of the findings

This section will summarise the findings based on the themes that emerged from the study as described in chapters four and five.

The study discovered that there are many interconnected factors which impede the positive contributory role of education on livelihood strategies of San people in Oshanashiwa. These factors occur at various ecological levels as illustrated by the eco-model in the analysis chapter. To begin with, indications have arisen from this study indicating that there is a high level of abuse and exploitation of the San people and it is also evident that these injustices are ongoing. The abuse suffered by San people varies but what stands out vividly is sexual abuse and violence perpetrated by Kwanyama men against San women and girls. The ripple effect of violence pervades the holistic development of a person. The result of this violence impacts health for example sexually transmitted diseases and also causes shame that comes with these illnesses leading to some San people hiding their health status. This is immensely concerning. An unhealthy community is unproductive and suffering is inevitable.

Poverty and hunger are some of the factors affecting the San community of Oshanashiwa. The study established that there is insufficient food at household level and this has resulted in the worsening health status of San people. The lack of food is also an outcome of various factors such as climate change, lack of manpower, access to resources and lack of proper programme management. When food is scarce and there is nothing to eat, opportunistic diseases affect some members of the San community, leading to lack of productivity and even loss of life. The participants were strongly of the view that hunger and poverty are killing their people. Another interesting outcome of the study is the excessive drinking of tombo by the San. The participants are worried about the level of tombo consumption without proper food intake. Though there is no scientific evidence, it has been observed that drinking too much tombo without proper food intake and good nutrition leads to health complications.

As indicated earlier, the different forms of education that San people went through have made an impact on their livelihood strategies. It emerged that formal education has been the least effective in contributing towards livelihood strategies. This is not surprising because a significant proportion of San people have only primary level education and this finding appears in various assessments conducted on the San. The livelihood strategies mentioned are a result of informal and non-formal education. Most of the learning is acquired from the community in particular and the society at large. The livelihood framework provided an inclusive picture of how livelihood strategies come about. From this study, it becomes apparent that there are no accessible systems in place to support San people. Education should have played a role in ensuring that San people are equipped with adequate knowledge to demand proper service delivery. Regrettably, this is not the case for San people in Oshanashiwa.

6.4 Limitations of the study

- This study was purely and solely conducted on the San people from the Oshanashiwa Resettlement Centre. This means that the interviews were conducted only with the San people from this centre and the views expressed in the study reflect only those of the interviewees. The study, therefore, is limited to the San people from Oshanashiwa and perhaps other San communities or San Resettlement centres in Okongo Constituencies. Nevertheless, it is possible that the findings could be generalisable to other communities

living in the same conditions not limiting it only to San communities. The sample was also limited to focus group discussions (limited numbers); hence there could be more untapped knowledge and information available from the community.

- The study only San informants: therefore, different perspectives from the wider community members of Aakwanyama, and service providers, such as government ministries, have not been considered.
- Some research data collection was undertaken during the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic (namely after March 2020); this not only limited the time spent with the focus groups but observing the Covid-19 regulations meant participants had to sit apart and some participants seemed detached from the discussions. Though the effect this had on the study is not huge, the flow of the discussion was slow and somehow diffused. Thus, it did impact value addition to the research.

6.5 Recommendations and Implications of the study

6.5.1 Self-reflection and general observations

The eroding of cultural activities through legal frameworks that have been systematically institutionalised to prevent certain activities such as hunting has taken a toll on the livelihood strategies of San people. If we look at the responses regarding indigenous knowledge, we can see how knowledge is passed on from one generation to the next and that knowledge includes being taught how to survive through various practices such as hunting.

Another shared intergenerational knowledge practice that is at risk of being eroded is the harvesting of wild fruits. This is because farmers have fenced off vast area of communal land while some land has been cleared. This means that San people need to get permission to enter those areas otherwise they will be trespassing. In addition, communal land farming on communal land comes with debushing, namely clearing land for farming. This has resulted in cutting down a lot of tree species that bear fruit. In doing this, the current generation of young San people does not know which are the correct trees from which to harvest bark, fruit and leaves.

These are not stand-alone issues. I spoke about cultural hegemony and power dynamics within concepts of development. Therefore, this highlights another example of the marginalisation of the San community. Many San traditions being linked to living sustainably on land, and now the San have only limited access to land as a result of structural oppression and societal discrimination, those San people at the Oshanashiwa resettlement farm can no longer practise their traditional way of life. Hence, their livelihood strategies are limited and controlled, either by people within the Ohangwena region or by Namibian laws.

The level of formal education attainment by the San also plays a role. We see from the previous chapter that the older generation barely had any formal education or training. This is a problem, especially in a country that has a free-market economy. Formal education offers a much knowledge and awareness that a community can use to counter laws that are not favourable towards its sustainability or culture. With a low level of education, the San people depend on external players to advocate on their behalf. The need to have an external person as an advocate has been a common practice for the San people in Oshanashiwa and similar settings. Also, the lack of a San traditional authority in the Ohangwena region could be a negative factor and disempower the San. It should be noted that most of the Ohangwena Region falls under the Oukwanyama Traditional Authority. Hence, San people living within this authority are already disadvantaged in terms of representation.

The findings in this study indicate that San people are going through multiple challenges. The critical paradigm approach I employed created a space to explore other discourses related to factors affecting and contributing towards their access to education and livelihood strategies. Therefore, to address some of the findings from this study, I set out below the implications and recommendations which are addressed mostly to the government of Namibia and particularly those ministries involved in service delivery. The Ministry of Land Reform, as a custodian of Resettlement Centres should take a lead in coordinating the efforts of relevant stakeholders to come up with positive directions to solve San people's issues in this country.

6.5.2 Social protection and Safety Net

The San people in Oshanashiwa are suffering from multifaceted overarching social issues and problems that are affecting their health and well-being. For such a small population, there have been many deaths and losses in this community. From the findings, there is an outcry of hunger,

lack of food and loss of hope. As a country, these are some of the issues that can be addressed. It is evident that the livelihood strategies that are currently being employed are not sufficient nor sustainable. Most of these strategies are exploitative and undermine human dignity, otherwise non-San people would be employing them unreservedly. Preserving human life and dignity now is paramount. This vulnerability which is the context in which San people are living in has a long history and overlooking it will not remedy the situation. Redressing past injustices requires progressive innovations that take into account past experiences of the affected group and current developments.

The Namibian government needs to invest in comprehensive social protection and social safety net programmes that can restore the lives of San people and other vulnerable groups which have similar situations and challenges. This goes beyond education and beyond livelihood strategies. This is a humanitarian intervention to protect lives. One of the suggestions even though it could be seen as a promotion of dependency, is availing funds to be paid monthly to San people. A living allowance that will give every San person liberty to acquire a meal and meet their basic human needs.

Finally, another aspect to consider that needs intervention is psycho-social support. The mental health of San people also needs to be addressed. The psychological impact of the events that happened to San people from this resettlement centre: the death, hunger, illnesses, hopelessness, violence, discrimination, and general acute poverty all have a huge effect on mental health. The participants appreciated that I took time to listen to their issue. One participant even referred to it as counselling and explained that they do not have a place to go to when they need to voice their issues. In addition, the participant declared that people do not make time to listen to them. Therefore, civil society organisations and institutions that deal with counselling and mental health issues could play a vital role in providing much needed support to San people.

6.5.3 Education Implications

While the dignity of San people is being restored, the importance of education in these times in which we are living cannot be stressed enough. Any suggestion that formal education is not important for San people could be misleading. The world is moving ahead and looking back or going back to the old ways of living is not an option as everything has changed. Technology

has advanced and the digital world is the new normal now. This has been demonstrated recently in the current outbreak of Covid-19 where movements within and outside the country have been restricted and there has been a move to online platforms to communicate.

For San people, all forms of education need to be strengthened to address the different challenges they experience. The Namibian government's education policy of inclusion is already a good start to address formal education problems but it is not enough especially for indigenous learners. The policy needs to include additional components that speak directly to San people and their needs. The design of the curriculum needs to incorporate aspects that are relevant and relatable to San people, especially at the primary school level.

When it comes to non-formal and informal education and learning, this could be an area where more investment is directed to ensure that San people are at least orientated if not fully equipped with new technologies, socio-economic developments, and innovations. Most San people in Oshashiwa Resettlement Farm do not know how to use technology nor do they own mobile phones or know how to operate them. Non-formal education can be a bridge in this instance. Educational programmes are needed that are designed to facilitate technological learning for San people and other vulnerable groups. Technology plays a vital role in almost every aspect of our lives, and it should be a right that even the most vulnerable groups can use it to their advantage, be it business and marketing, education, accessing of services, networking, or socialising.

As part of strengthening education, the country needs to roll out targeted educational programmes not only for San people but for the wider community. This study revealed immense human rights violations especially in regard to gender-based violence. Increasing awareness and sensitising the community on rights approaches will be a start in addressing many of the injustices mentioned in this study.

Education is vital in challenging the status quo. San people are not educated to the extent of standing up for themselves in certain aspects of their treatment by society. As described in this study, women are taken advantage of and called names just because they are San and are viewed as not deserving of appropriate treatment. This came out strongly when looking at the issue of sexual violence and abuse.

6.5.4 Societal Implication

The study clearly specified the behaviour of the larger society and its role in the continuous oppression and further marginalisation of San people. This can be observed from the derogative name-calling and language non-San people use towards San people. It happens at public institutions like schools; thus, San learners drop out because of discrimination and unfair treatment. Policies need to be strengthened and enforced against public servants who continue to mistreat marginalised people. More awareness and sensitisation campaigns on human rights, gender-based violence, citizenship and similar subjects are needed for the larger community specifically those that reside in those informal settlements with cuca-shops in Okongo.

The non-San community (Aakwanyama) in Oshanashiwa village have a stewardship responsibility to the San people in the resettlement farm including sharing resources as they are more privileged than the San people. The Ovakwanyama community also needs to be held accountable when their livestock destroy the crops of San people.

As a tribe that is not marginalised, the Ovakwanyama people have oppressed and abused San people for the longest time; impregnating young girls and not taking responsibility for the children, sexually violating San women just because they can, compensating San people with tombo knowing very well that tombo is toxic and refusing to pay San people what is due when provided a service. These are just a few examples of insights gained from the study that need broader community engagement if the country is prepared to remedy the situation of San people.

6.5.5 Land Implications

There are limitations and negative interpretations attached to resettlement farms of San people in Ohangwena region. Most of these establishments, as mentioned, were started by missionaries and eventually the government of Namibia took them over later. At the same time, different development projects came in with various interventions (including the project I was involved in). Unfortunately, these short-lived interventions have not been impactful for different reasons such as consultation, length of operation, and most importantly sustainability.

The recommendation is for the government to look at possible new approaches such as

integrating San people within different communities, giving them land outside the resettlement farm, and freeing them from confinement. Redressing the damages of the past is needed through innovations that do not necessarily have to be bound to conventional schools of thought regarding education and development. In this way, availing land outside the resettlement centre could restore access to previous livelihood strategies such as harvesting wild fruits and hunting animals sustainably when allowed. This land will also allow for independence. As mentioned by some participants, the land in Oshana is not enough for everyone to live off. Especially when there is not enough rain, crops do not survive and the constituency councillor has to come in with food aid which is also not sufficient or sustainable.

However, immediate attention needs to be paid towards restoring the human dignity of the San people, and first and foremost, is addressing the issue of their health. This community has and is suffering from different chronic illnesses that result in death caused by multiple factors already mentioned in this study such as lack of food. There is also the lack of trust in public institutions that prevents and prevented San people from accessing much needed services and their tendency to hide their sicknesses. Targeted normative and comparative needs programmes should be designed to remedy these issues of health, hunger, and access to basic services.

Livelihood strategies cannot grow or diversify in an ailing community. A community that has intersectional problems cannot prosper until those problems are addressed. Education does play a vital role in addressing some of these problems in the long term; however, at this time, education has provided little to no positive effect on livelihood strategies. Based on the results, formal education could be construed as ineffectual for the San. The government of Namibia has complex policies and systems that drive towards inclusion and the spirit of harambee, but for the San people in Oshanashiwa, this is just an impossible dream.,

Finally, the involvement of San people in future interventions and their participation in making decisions about issues that affect them and their community is crucial. There seem to be a lack of representation for San people from Oshanashiwa. Representation is key to ensuring that issues affecting a certain community are heard. Any decisions that will affect the community should be done in consultation with that community and in this case, the San people. Appropriate representation is vital to promoting inclusivity and making decisions that are relevant and impactful to the community.

6.5.6 Employment Implications

The youth participants have addressed the issue of unemployment and how as San people, they have not been considered for jobs in offices and institutions in Okongo constituency. The youth declared that they are also qualified for jobs that do not require qualification such as being a cleaner or a security guard. Furthermore, they decried discrimination within recruitment processes and that jobs are only given to non-San people.

Formal jobs in Namibia are scarce even to people with tertiary education qualifications. For San people who have limited formal education, unemployment is prevalent. Therefore, there is a need for the government and private sector to strengthen and implement diversity hire especially in communities with marginalised groups. The diversity hire will create equitable opportunities for San people to land formal jobs and this will diversify their livelihood strategies. Apart from formal employment, as mentioned prior, there are some San people that went to vocational training schools and gained certain skills but they are just sitting at home as no one was to hire them. The government can further reinforce existing systems to make it mandatory for companies with government contract to hire San people specifically for the jobs happening within their communities and the surrounding areas.

6.6 Further Research Area and Limitations of the study

This research was a tip of the iceberg on a tropical issue that needs urgent attention and intervention from different key players if the country wants to preserve the lives of San people in Oshanashiwa and this can be extent to other San people living in similar settings and context. The following points are the areas that need further research:

1. A comprehensive study needs to be conducted to thorough understand formal education's impact on San people across the country and also to investigate the discriminatory behaviour displayed by teachers towards San learners.
2. Human rights based approach study to understand the level of human rights violation done towards San people
3. Innovation and knowledge possessed by San people that can be technologically used for modern technology

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study revealed that at present, informal and non-formal education have played a role in the livelihood strategies of San people. It also indicated that the livelihood strategies employed are not sustainable and most related to short term piece work. The study opened discussion regarding sexual violence and abuse the San community as well as issues of human rights. Overall, there are many factors affecting the livelihoods of San people that need urgent interventions from the relevant authorities. Formal education is yet to become of benefit to San people, because currently none of the participants have completed even lower secondary education.

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Appendix 1: Consent form from the Gatekeeper: Ministry of Land Reform



REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA
MINISTRY OF LAND REFORM

Tel: (061) 296 5156
Fax: (061) 296 5119
Enquires: N. Nghituwamata

55 Robert Mugabe Avenue
Private Bag 13343
Windhoek
Namibia

Ms. Iyaloo Ngodji
Private Bag 16008
Pioneerspark
WINDHOEK
Namibia

Dear Ms. Ngodji

SUBJECT: INFORMED CONSENT LETTER (FULL THESIS-MASTERS' RESEARCH PROJECT).

1. The above subject matter and letter dated 31 August 2018 cites reference.
2. The Ministry of Land Reform holds no objection to your request in conducting your research, on the Oshana Resettlement Project in Ohangwena Region.
3. However, you are required to share your findings with the Ministry, for information purposes.
4. Kindly present this correspondence to our Deputy Director Mr. Samuel Amutenya that is heading the Ohangwena regional office in Eenhana, 065 264 100.
5. All the best with your Thesis.

Sincerely Yours,

[Redacted Signature]

N. Nghituwamata -
DIRECTOR: REGIONAL PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION



Appendix 2: Informed consent form participants

CONSENT FORM

I/name _____ have been informed about the study entitled (**The effects of education on livelihood strategies of San People in Oshana Resettlement Farm in Okongo, Namibia**) by (Iyaloo Ngodji)/Onda lombwelwa elilongo loshipalanyole “Ondjudo yelongo melundululo yonghalamwenyo yopaliko yovAyelele monhele yetulululo mOshana moshitopolwa shaKongo, Namibia” Iyaloo Ngodji

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study/Onda lombwelwa oshinakuwanifwa ne landulafano lomapekaapeko.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to/onda dimina kutya ohandili yambe di kufe mbinga momapekaapeko, ame ohandi dulu oku kangheka ekufo mbinga lange pehena oshilanduli.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at/ngeenge ondina omapulo ile omalimbililo ondina eshiivo kutya ohandi dulu oku pula omupekaapeki ko:

1374 Erasmus Street Windhoek or Mufeti Residence, Okongo Village

Cell: +264811485584

Email at ngodjiyaloo5@gmail.com

I hereby provide consent to/Onda yandja pitikila:

Audio-recording/Ewi li kwatwa YES/NO/ EHENO/AHAWE

Note-recording/Eshango leenghundafana YES/NO/ EHENO/AHAWE

_____ **Signature of Participant**

Date

_____ Signature of Witness

Appendix 3: Information Sheet and Consent letter to Participate in Research Oshikwanyama and English

Date: June 2019

Omufimanekwa

Edina lange olyaloo Ngodji omunafikola (208517641) koshiputudilo shelongo lopombada University of KwaZulu-Natal, Piertermaritzburg Campus, moshitopolwa shelongo.

Oto shivwa nefimaneko u kufe ombinga momapekaapeko taa kongo ouyelele wa amena kondjudo yelongo melundululo longhalamwenyo yopaliko yovAyelele monhele yetulululo mOshana-shiwa moshitopolwa shaKongo, Namibia. Oshinakuwanifwa shomapekaapeko okutala nokutya elongo ola dana onghandangala ngahelipi moku kwafela ovayelele melundulu longhalamwenyo. Elilongo eli ola pumbwa ovakufimbinga ve li omulongo navahetatu tava topolwa meengudu mbali dovanhu ve li 6 - 8. Oinima oishe otai ka ningilwa monhele yetulululo mOshana-shiwa. Omapekaapeko otaa ningwa molupe loshilongilonga novakufimbinga ova teeelwa va fike momafiku oo. Otaku ka longifwa omafiku atatu (momukokomhoko) weemwedi nhatu. Omapekaape aa ok una sha ashike nofikola (nelihongo).

Onde lineekela kutya elilongo eli otali ka eta po omhito yokudimbulukwa omaunongo, eenghedi nomikalo tadi weda ko kounongo wokulundulula onghalamwenyo ndee noku nghonopeka ovayelele momaukwatya avo.

Omapulo no malimbililo otaa ukifwa ko:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS

ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609 Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Tangi ke longelo kumwe.

Greeting: Good day madam/sir.

My name is Iyaloo Ngodji a student (208517641) at University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, Department of Education from Namibia.

You are being invited to voluntarily consider participating in a study that involves research to critically analyze the role of education on the livelihood of San people in Oshana Resettlement farm. The aim and purpose of this research is to see how education (formal, non-formal and informal) plays a role in the livelihoods of San people in Oshana Resettlement Farm. The study is expected to enroll maximum of 18 participants that will be divide into two groups of 6-9 then will be combine at a later stage of the research. All the participatory engagement will happen at the resettlement farm. No traveling is required. The research will be conducted in a form of an engagement workshop, whereby you will be required to attend. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be 3 days rolled out over a period of three months. The study is for academic purposed and not funded.

I hope that the study will create a platform to retrieve experiences and knowledge that could add value and strengthen the current livelihood strategies thus contributing to social change, empowerment and transformation.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number_____).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (provide contact details) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS

ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001 Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 4: Research guiding questions and methodological instruments

Timeline and focus group discussion

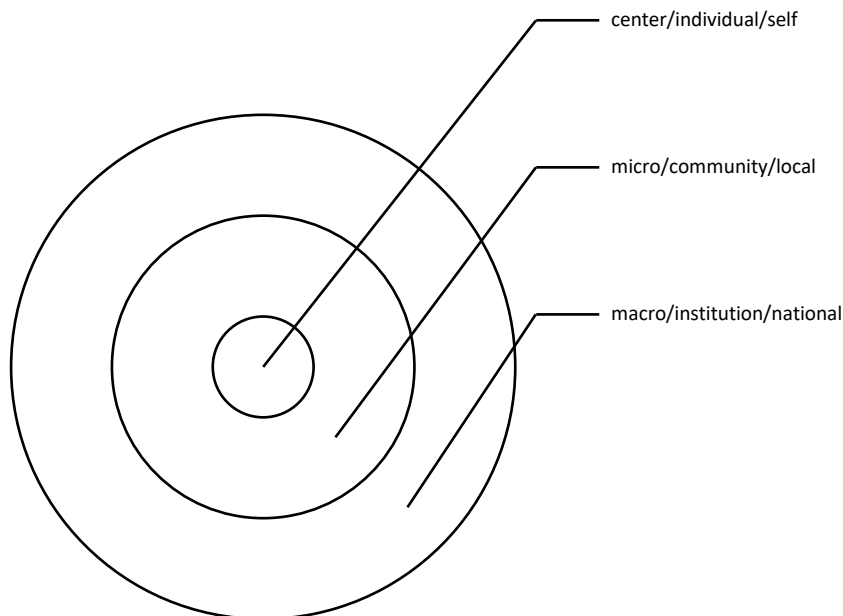
- What educational opportunity did you receive and when?
- Type of intergeneration knowledge and education gained, from where and whom?
- The evolvement of livelihood strategies including intergeneration livelihood
- The contribution of education on livelihood strategies

Eco-model

How is education and livelihood affected in the resettlement?

How are community members affected by different socio-economic issues

The eco-model below will look at the effect at different layers as indicated here.



Eco-systemic model

SWOT Analysis and focus group discussion

These tools will be used to gain understanding on the following issues

- Present livelihood strategies
- Livelihoods and educational opportunities
- Threats to these strategies
- What can be done to strengthen these livelihoods?

Strength	Weakness
----------	----------

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the strengths present in your community, - What are the positive things one can find around here - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What issues are present that prevent you from having different livelihood strategies? - What are the setbacks in this community?
<p>Opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - List assets and resources in the community and what they can potentially be used for - List skills that you have and tell me how they can be used for livelihood strengthening 	<p>Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the causes of poverty you keep referring to? - How did the institutions limit your ways of living? - What other things affect you that you cannot control